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. LE BAPTÊME DANS LE CRATÈRE (C. H., IV, 3–4)

OURQUOI donc, ô père, Dieu n'a-t-il pas donné l'intellect
? — C'est qu'il a voulu, mon enfant, que l'intellect fût
ntre les âmes comme un prix qu'elles eussent à gagner.[1] —
où l'a-t-il donc placé? — Il en a rempli un grand cratère
envoyé sur terre, et il a appointé un héraut avec ordre de
mer aux coeurs des hommes ces paroles: "Plonge-toi, toi
peux, dans ce cratère [2] que voici, toi qui crois que tu re-
ras vers Celui qui a envoyé sur terre le cratère, toi qui
our quelle fin tu es venue à l'être." Tous ceux donc qui
êté attention à la proclamation et qui ont été baptisés (de
tême) de l'intellect,[3] ceux-là ont eu part à la connaissance [4]
sont devenus hommes parfaits, parce qu'ils ont reçu

ησεν . . . τοῦτον (τὸν νοῦν) ἐν μέσῳ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥσπερ ἆθλον ἱδρῦσθαι. Pour *ἐν*
c le datif, cf. Theogn., 994–5: *ἆθλον δ' ἐν μέσσῳ παῖς καλὸς ἄνθος ἔχων | σοί*
ἐμοί et, pour l'image, Il., XXIII, 704: *ἀνδρὶ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναῖκ' ἐς μέσσον*
mosth., IV, 5: *ἆθλα κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ*, etc. Pour *ἐν μέσῳ ἱδρῦσθαι*, Dittenberger
35, 46. Le parallélisme avec notre texte se précise dans Plut., de defectu
c. 20, p. 421a: *ἐπεὶ δὲ μύθων καὶ λόγων ἀναμεμιγμένων κρατὴρ ἐν μέσῳ πρόκειται,*
tr., v. Apoll., IV, 24 (t. I, p. 400 Conybeare): *λόγων τε κρατῆρες ἵσταντο*
το αὐτῶν οἱ διψῶντες.
r *βάπτισον . . . εἰς*, cf. Plut., de superst., p. 166a: *βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς*
ν, Mc. 1, 9: *Ἰησοῦς . . . ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην.*
πτίσαντο τοῦ νοός. La construction la plus naturelle est de sous entendre
τισμα, cf. Act. Apost., 9, 4: *Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν βάπτισμα μετανοίας.* Pour le
inemment grec *(τὸ) βάπτισμα βαπτίζειν (-εσθαι)*, cf. Mc. 10, 38: *δύνασθε*
βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι, Lc. 12, 50: *βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτι-*

σις au sens technique, cf. C.H., I, 3, 27; II, 17; X, 8; XIV, 1 etc. (cf.
ninger, Untersuchungen zu d. Schriften d. Hermes Trismegistos, 1926,
et R. Reitzenstein, Hellen. Mysterienrel.[3], p. 284–308), ici plus précisé-
ῶναι ἐπί τί (ἡ ψυχὴ) γέγονε καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων. D'une manière générale la gnose
ie à la piété. VI, 5; IX, 4; X, 19; cf. Clem. Alex., Protr., IX, p. 190 (But-
n, Loeb Class. Lib. 1919), XI, p. 240 B, et elle est la condition première du

l'intellect. Ceux au contraire qui ont failli à écouter l
clamation, ceux-ci sont demeurés les *logiques*,[5] parce
n'ont pas acquis en surplus l'intellect et qu'ils ignorent e
de quoi ils sont venus à l'être et qui sont les auteurs d
création.'

La vraie difficulté de ce texte tient à l'alliance des deux
baptême et *cratère*: *βάπτισον σεαυτὴν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κρατῆρ*
Car si, d'une part, rien n'est plus commun et chez les Ju
chez les païens qu'un baptême de purification, antérieur,
les mystères païens, aux rites propres de l'initiation, si, d
part, rien n'est mieux attesté dans certains mystères du
nisme que le rite par lequel le prêtre faisait boire à l'initi
gorgée de vin, d'un vin que précisément on tirait d'un cra

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salut, X, 15, comme, au contraire, l'*ἀγνωσία τοῦ θεοῦ* (= *ἀσέβεια*) est le
prême et le plus grand mal de l'âme, VII, 1; X, 8; XI, 21; cf. Clem. Alex.,
X, p. 214 B, et Ed. Norden, Agnostos Theos, p. 96. Sur la remontée à D
la gnose, cf. I, 24–26; IV, 8–10; XII, 12–14; XIII passim. Sur ce que
principe de la gnose et de la remontée de l'âme, est un don de Dieu, cf. I
(tout homme ne jouit pas de le présence du *νοῦς*), IV, 4 (*βάπτισον σεαυτὴν ἡ δυ*
IV, 5 (*ὅσοι δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεᾶς μετέσχον*), V, 2 (noter *εἰ δύνασαι, τοῖς*
ὀφθαλμοῖς φανήσεται (suj. *ὁ θεός*) : or l'âme ne *peut* voir que si Dieu l'illum
ἀκτῖνά σοι κἂν μίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ σῇ διανοίᾳ ἐκλάμψαι), VI, 4; IX, 5. Ce don du
proprement une grâce, I, 32 (*τῆς χάριτος ταύτης φωτίσω τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ*
Asclep., 41 (tua enim gratia tantum sumus cognitionis tuae lumen con
Stob. Hermet., Exc. XXIII, 4, p. 458, 10 ss. Scott (le Dieu suprême *αὐγ*
πλείονα ταῖς τούτων (des dieux inférieurs) *ἐχαρίσατο διανοίαις*), cf. encore
XII, 12 (*δύο ταῦτα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ θεὸς . . . ἐχαρίσατο, τόν τε νοῦν καὶ τὸν λόγον*

[5] Les *logikoi* sont ceux qui ne possèdent que la seule raison humaine
par opposition à l'*ὁ ἔννους* (I, 18, 21) qui a acquis en surplus (*τὸν νοῦν προσ*
IV, 4) le *νοῦς* don de Dieu. Même opposition de principe entre ceux qui po
et ceux qui ne possèdent pas le *νοῦς* (*ἄνους*, fr. 19 Scott), XII, 3–4, 6, bien
λόγος soit ici assimilé au *νοῦς* (XII, 12) et que l'*ἔννους* soit dit l'*ἐλλόγιμος* (X
Ailleurs l'opposition est entre l'homme essentiel (*οὐσιώδης*) et l'homme n
(*ὑλικός*), IX, 1, 5; cf. R. Reitzenstein, Hellen. Mysterienrel.[3], pp. 328 ss
Clem. Alex., l'homme *logikos* est celui qui est à l'image du Logos (Protr.
214 B) et il n'est tel que pour avoir reçu de Dieu une divine effluence, *ἀ*
θεϊκή (ibid., p. 154 B).

[6] D'où le mot à sens technique *κρατηρ-* (*κρητηρ-*)*ίζω*, 'mélanger le vin
cratère' pour un sacrifice, Dittenberger, Syll.[3], 57, 24 (Milet, Ve s.) ou 'p
vin dans le cratère' pour en donner aux mystes dans les cultes à mystères,
de corona, 259 (myst. de Sabazios) et Phot., s.v. *κρατηρίζων*, Bechtel-
G D I, IV, p. 885, n° 64, 7 (myst. à Erythrées, 2e moitié IVe s.) où la cérém
κρητηρισμός est associée à un bain de purification (*λουτρόν*), mais sans se co
avec lui: ce sont deux rites distincts, et le prêtre qui initie les hommes (ou

utre exemple n'apparaît d'un *baptême dans un cratère.* On lique rien à supposer ici, avec Scott, quelque influence du tianisme: où voit-on que les chrétiens aient jamais baptisé un cratère? Je voudrais montrer que l'auteur de C.H. mêlé arbitrairement deux rites dont le premier n'est pas ptême, mais l'absorption sacramentelle du vin puisé dans ratère, et tenter non pas de résoudre entièrement le pro- e, mais d'indiquer la direction probable qu'il faut suivre retrouver les cercles de pensée où une telle alliance a pu ıs naturellement se produire.

est clair tout d'abord qu'il s'agit ici d'un rite de mystère el utilisé comme métaphore dans un mystère littéraire.[7] ce que démontre à plein la mention du *κῆρυξ* ou *ἱεροκῆρυξ* comme à Eleusis et dans mainte fête grecque, annonce la nonie (*πρόρρησις*). Le C.H. I offre sur ce point un paral- rappant: la mention du *κηρύσσειν* (27) y est également liée rite d'absorption, ici de l'eau d'ambroisie (29).[8] Or cette

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qui initie les femmes) reçoit, pour chacun d'eux, un salaire particulier (ll. 10– Dans les mystères de Samothrace, le prêtre a charge de préparer le vin qu'il aux initiés, *ἐγχέει* [*τὸ ποτὸν τοῖ*]*ς μύσταις*, Michel, 704 = Ziehen, 84 (Tomi, la restitution de Gomperz est acceptée comme certaine par Michel). Faut-il er que le cratère, ainsi que le montre son nom même, n'a jamais été chez les que le grand vase où l'on mélangeait à de l'eau le vin épais dont usaient les s et duquel on tirait ensuite ce mélange pour le verser dans les vases à Sophron emploie l'expression *ἐκρατηρίχθημεν* (= *ἐμεθύσθημεν*, Hésych.) pour r qu'on boit à même le cratère, comme nous dirions 'boire à même le ton- Citons encore les formules mystiques bien connues d'Eleusis, Clem. Alex., pt., II, 21, p. 42 B (A. Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie[3], p. 213) et des mystères ɔèle, ibid., II, 15, p. 34 B (Dieterich, p. 216), et le proverbe *τρίτου κρατῆρος* , Apostol., 17, 28 (Dieterich, p. 214) qui se rapporte aux mystères, *ἐπὶ τῶν ἑνων τὰ τελεώτατα καὶ σωτηριωδέστατα.* [Porphyr., *de antro nymph.* 17, p. 69, 2 N.: *ᾧ Μίθρᾳ ο' κρατὴρ ἀντὶ τῆς πηγῆς.* Cf. Cumont, Testes et Monuments ... Mithra, 01: "dans les *spelaea* mithriaques, le cratère tenait lieu de la source qui coulait a grotte consacrée primitivement au culte par Zoroastre ... (les mystes de) transportaient le liquide divin dans le temple et le versaient dans un cratère duquel ils accomplissaient les cérémonies que le rituel prescrivait."]

ur cette transposition, cf. A. J. Festugière, L'idéal religieux des Grecs et gile, IIe partie, ch. 3, A. D. Nock, Gnomon, XIII, 3 (mars 1937), pp. 156–

ur l'*ἀμβρόσιον ὕδωρ*, cf. Act. Thomae, c. 25, p. 19, 15 Bonnet (1883): *πότισον ὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμβροσιώδους σου πηγῆς* et Philon, passim (cf. H. Lewy, Sobria as, p. 91, n. 2).

image du héraut invitant les hommes à boire dans un cra pour atteindre à l'initiation parfaite se trouve déjà dan traduction grecque des Proverbes 9, 1–6, et c'est de là qu a passé dans toute la mystique hellénistique influencée pa judaïsme pour y devenir l'un des plus ordinaires lieux c muns.[9] Citons en entier, d'après les LXX, ce texte capital dérive une longue tradition:

(1) La Sagesse s'est bâti une maison, elle a dressé sept colonnes. (2) I immolé ses victimes,[10] elle a mêlé dans le cratère son propre vin,[11] elle a pré sa table. (3) Elle a envoyé ses esclaves, invitant par une proclamation s nelle [12] (à venir) au cratère, disant: (4) Que celui qui n'a pas l'intellige se mette à table auprès de moi.[14] Et à ceux qui sont dépourvus de sens [1 dit: (5) Venez, mangez de mes pains, buvez le vin que j'ai mélangé pour (6) quittez l'inintelligence,[16] afin de régner dans l'éternité, et reche l'intelligence et redressez la voie de votre entendement dans la connaissa

Le dernier verset (6) donne la clef du morceau. Nous y voy un prototype de la prédication de repentance (*κήρυγμα μετανο* qui est l'un des traits communs à la propagande païe

[9] Il est curieux que C. H. Dodd dans son excellent ouvrage, The Bible an Greeks (Londres, 1935) n'ait pas relevé ce texte à propos de C.H. IV. Dans note pénétrante, H. Lewy (op. cit., p. 15, n. 3) fait remarquer que la tradu des LXX ajoute à l'original hébreu des traits spécifiques des mystères Ainsi *μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος* (9, 3) est une erreur (voulue?) pour: 'au somme hauteurs de la ville' (cf. 8, 1: *σὺ τὴν σοφίαν κηρύξεις, ἵνα φρόνησις σοι ὑπακούσ* lieu de 'la Sagesse ne crie-t-elle pas, l'intelligence n'élève-t-elle pas sa voix?' mots *εἰς κρατῆρα* (9, 2) et *ἐπὶ κρατῆρα* (9, 3) sont tout simplement ajoutés au t Cette double mention du cratère, jointe à l'invitation officielle, par héra venir au cratère, témoigne d'un dessein conscient d'opposer la Sagesse mystér des Juifs aux initiations des païens. Même dessein dans l'interpolation de Deut 23, 17, vide infra, n. 97.

[10] *θύματα*: il s'agit d'un sacrifice, suivi d'un festin rituel.

[11] C'est donc 'le vin de la Sagesse,' c'est à dire la Sagesse elle-même q boira; cf. Sir. 1, 16: *καὶ (ἡ σοφία) μεθύσκει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῆς.*

[12] *μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος*, cf. n. 9. *μετὰ κηρύγματος* paraît une expre technique pour l'annonce des fêtes; cf. Syll.[3] 1045, 9 ss. H (*ἐπειδὴ* Κλεόφα *. . . παρήγγειλεν ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι μετὰ κηρύγματος πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια ἀσυμβ* Ἀρκεσινεῖς *πάντας* (Arcésiné d'Amorgos, v. 250 av. J. C.); cf. 1046, 18–19: *προ ξας ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι ὡς ὁ νόμος προστάσσει καλῶς καὶ δικαίως* (Minoa d'Amorgos, m. d

[13] *ὅς ἐστιν ἄφρων*, cf. l'*ἄνους* des Hermetica. L'*ἄφρων* est celui qui ne pos pas la *φρόνησις*, Prov. 8, 1; 9, 6.

[14] Sur le lit de table, *κλίνη*.

[15] *τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν.*

[16] *ἀπολείπετε ἀφροσύνην.*

[17] *κατορθώσατε ἐν γνώσει σύνεσιν.* La gnôsis est ici *γνῶσις τῆς σοφίας.*

rétienne,[18] et cette prédication, utilisant une image em-tée aux mystères du paganisme, invite aux purs enivre-s de la Sagesse, forgeant, pour la première fois peut-être, le célèbre où la mystique hellénistique opposera aux lourdes ses de l'inconnaissance [19] la *sobria ebrietas* (*νηφάλιος μέθη*) gnose.[20]

oint n'est besoin de reprendre ici l'analyse scrupuleuse de ewy qui suit le thème de l'ivresse mystique dans les écrits 'hilon, des gnostiques et des Pères. Il y distingue deux ds courants selon que le sage va puiser la connaissance (1) à ntaine de vie [21] ou (2) au cratère. Ce deuxième aspect de étaphore nous intéresse plus directement. Indiquons-en ploi dans Philon,[22] la Pistis Sophia,[23] le IVe livre d'Esdras,[24] nostique Markos.[25] D'une manière générale, qu'il s'agisse u ou de vin, la formule 'boire la connaissance' fait figure erme technique [26] dans toutes les branches de la gnose [27]

Cf. Ed. Norden, Agnostos Theos, pp. 130–133, 139–140, et le tableau pp. Ainsi C.H., I, 27 ss., VII, 1 ss., Clem. Alex., Protr., VIII, p. 180 B, IX, p. 85 B, X, p. 216 B (*ὑμῶν ἐστιν* (le royaume de Dieu), *ἐὰν ἐθελήσητε . . . τῇ ἰᾳ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔπεσθαι, ἧς ὑπακούσαντες οἱ Νινευῖται τῆς προσδοκηθείσης ἀλώσεως ἰᾳ γνησίῳ τὴν καλὴν ἀντικατηλλάξαντο σωτηρίαν*), p. 218 (*κάρῳ καὶ μέθῃ βεβαρη-νανήψατε*), p. 222 (*θεὸς δὲ ὑμῖν ἀνανῆψαι δοίη ποτὲ τοῦδε τοῦ ὕπνου*), Orac. Chald., Kroll (*οὐδ' ὅτι πᾶς ἀγαθὸς θεὸς ειδότες· ἃ ταλαεργοί, | νήψατε*), etc.

μέθη τῆς ἀγνωσίας, cf. C.H., VII, 1.

μέθη τῆς γνώσεως, H. Lewy, p. 85.

πηγὴ σοφίας, ζωῆς, cf. l'*ἀμβρόσιον ὕδωρ* de C.H., I, 29. Aquam sapientiae iasti gratis, chante une antienne médiévale (rit dominicain).

Par exemple de somn., II, 190. Le Logos est l'échanson de Dieu qui verse ommes, le puisant dans le divin cratère (*ἐκ τοῦ θείου κρατῆρος*), le vin enivrant ια) des vertus; cf. H. Lewy, p. 12 ss., 92, 99–100. L'auteur (p. 92, n. 3) nie relation entre le cratère de la Sagesse ou du Logos et la métaphore pindarique λόγων ou ἀοιδῶν utilisée encore par Plutarque, sept. sap. conviv., VII, 13, d (*νηφάλιος κρατὴρ λόγων*), Philostrate (supra, p. 1, n. 1) et Julien, ep. 4 Bidez-Cumont).

C. 142 ss.; cf. Lewy, p. 93–94. Nous reviendrons sur ce texte.

Lewy, pp. 94–95.

Iren., I, 13, 2; cf. Lewy, pp. 96–98.

Lewy, p. 91.

Hippol., V, 23, 3: *οὗτοι δὲ ἰδίως οἱ πάντες γνωστικοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκαλοῦσι, ⟨ὡσεὶ⟩ υμασίαν γνῶσιν τοῦ τελείου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ μόνοι καταπεπωκότες.* Iren., I, 13, 6: *τελεί-τοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες, ὡς μηδενὸς δυναμένου ἐξισωθῆναι τῷ μεγέθει τῆς γνώσεως αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ πλείω πάντων ἐγνωκέναι καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γνώσεως τῆς ἀρρήτου δυνάμεως καταπεπωκέναι.*

et Clément d'Alexandrie ne se fait pas faute de l'utilise

La constance de cette image: 'boire la Sagesse, l'intellige (*φρόνησις*), la connaissance, le Logos, la Grâce (Marcosiens) dans une littérature si voisine des Hermetica et la mention cratère [30] en tant de textes apparentés suggéreraient, pou C.H. IV, un sens tout naturel, n'était le difficile *βάπτισον σεαυ* La cérémonie qu'annonce le héraut ne consisterait pas dans bain, un baptême, mais dans l'absorption du *νοῦς*: l'âme invitée à boire l'intellect, don de Dieu, pour acquérir l'initiat parfaite.[31]

La tradition littéraire semblait imposer ce sens d'une mani si évidente que j'ai pensé l'adopter d'abord, en entend *βάπτισον σεαυτήν* dans l'acception métaphorique où se pr parfois le verbe *βαπτίζεσθαι*, 'être plongé dans le vin, être iv C'est ainsi que, dans le Banquet de Platon (176 b), Aristoph désigne des buveurs qui 's'en sont mis par dessus la t (Robin) par le mot *βεβαπτισμένοι*.[32] L'expression 'être plo dans un bain de sommeil' n'est pas rare.[33] Cet emploi mé phorique de *βαπτίζεσθαι* se rencontre dans le Corpus Herm cum. Selon le traité XII, 2, toute âme entrée dans un corps rendue mauvaise par la peine et le plaisir: car peine et pla sont comme les humeurs bouillonnantes du corps compo

[28] Paedag, I, 6 (P.G., VIII, 293 a = I, p. 111 Stählin) à propos de I Cor. (*διὸ καὶ γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα*): *τὴν γνῶσιν ὑμῖν ἐνέχεα* (cf. l'inscription de Tomi, su p. 3, n. 6), *λέγων, τὴν ἐκ κατηχήσεως ἀνατρέφουσαν εἰς ζωὴν ἀΐδιον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπότισα ῥῆμα τελείας μεταλήψεως σύμβολόν ἐστι. πίνειν μὲν γὰρ οἱ τέλειοι λέγονται.* Il 304 b (= p. 117, Stählin): *πίνεται γὰρ ὁ Λόγος, ἡ τροφὴ τῆς ἀληθείας.* Strom., V (P.G., IX, 101 a = 2, p. 370, Stählin): *βρῶσις γὰρ καὶ πόσις τοῦ θείου Λόγου ἡ γν ἐστι τῆς θείας οὐσίας*, V, 4 (P.G., IX, 45 a = 2, p. 342, Stählin): *αὐτίκα ὁ ἀπόστ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν γνωστικῆς τελειότητος τὴν κοινὴν πίστιν . . . λέγει . . . γάλα,*

[29] Sur cette assimilation de la sagesse ou du *logos*, du *noûs* ou du *pneuma* à fluide que l'on absorbe, cf. Lewy, pp. 10, 56, 92, 100.

[30] Ou du vin qu'on mélange dans des vases à boire, Marcosiens ap. Iren 13, 2: *ποτήρια οἴνῳ κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος . . . ἐπιδοὺς ἐκπώματα κεκραμένα.* I s'agit plus ici d'une métaphore, mais bien d'un rite sacramentel.

[31] *καὶ τέλειοι ἐγένοντο ἄνθρωποι*, C.H., IV, 4.

[32] Cf. Luc., Bacch. 7, Sen., Ep. 83 (mersus vino et madens), Hor., Carm., 5, 39 (uvidus).

[33] Evenos, 2, 5–6: (Bacchos) *βαπτίζει δ' ὕπνῳ γείτονι τοῦ θανάτου*, Jos., Ant. J 10, 9, 4: *β. εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὕπνον*, Poseid. ap. Aët., 6, 3: *ὕπνῳ βεβαπτισμένος*, Cl Alex., Paedag., II, 2 (P.G., VIII, 421 a = I, p. 172 Stählin): *ὑπὸ μέθης βαπτιζόμ εἰς ὕπνον.*

ἐμβᾶσα ἡ ψυχὴ βαπτίζεται. L'Exc. XXV, 8 des Hermetica
bée dit des âmes qu'elles sont 'immergées' dans la chair
ang, σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι βεβαπτισμέναι.[34] Un tel usage méta-
que pourrait paraître d'autant plus plausible dans le C.H.
ι' ἡ δυναμένη revêtirait, en ce contexte, un sens très précis
t légitime. L'âme δυναμένη, c'est l'âme qui peut supporter
ce du vin.[35] Cette acception technique, si l'on peut dire,
ναμαι est attestée de nouveau par le Banquet (176 c):
ῖς οἱ δυνατώτατοι πίνειν . . . ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἀδύνατοι.
rattaché au thème de l'ivresse mystique, notre morceau
ndrait donc de la manière la plus claire: 'Plonge-toi dans
ιτère de l'intellect,' c'est à dire 'bois-en jusqu'à l'ivresse,
i es capable d'en supporter la force.' Et encore: 'ceux qui
ıt imbibés de l'intellect,[36] ceux-là ont eu part à la con-
ance.'[37]

ıtes ces considérations eussent fixé mon choix, et je n'au-
as balancé à me rendre à cette exégèse s'il n'y avait, pour
er ici au sens de βάπτισμα = λουτρόν, un texte remarquable
lequel, depuis longtemps, on a comparé le nôtre.[38] C'est
trait de la gnose valentinienne citée par Clément d'Alex-
e:[39] 'Ce n'est pas seulement le bain qui délivre,[40] mais
la connaissance, (savoir) qui nous étions, ce que nous

510, 27 Scott. Cf. dans la Korè Kosmou, 49 (p. 484, 20 Scott) la variante
F ἐνεμβαπτίσθησαν (αἱ ψυχαί) pour ἐνσωματίσθησαν, et encore Procl., Theol.
97, 34 et Orac. Chald., p. 52, n. 1 Kroll.

f. C.H., VII, 1: ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, μεθύοντες, τὸν τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἄκρατον
πιόντες, ὃν οὐδὲ φέρειν δύνασθε, ἀλλ' ἤδη αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμεῖτε·
οι μὲν οὖν . . . ἐβαπτίσαντο τοῦ νοός.
τοι μέτεσχον τῆς γνώσεως, cf. Clem. Alex., Paedag., I, 6 (= I, p. 111, Stählin):
σα ῥῆμα τελείας μεταλήψεως σύμβολόν ἐστι.

f. Ed. Norden, Agn. Theos, p. 102, J. Kroll, Die Lehre des H. Trism., p.
orden (pp. 102–109) a suivi le sort de la formule γνῶναι ἐπὶ τί γέγονας et
dans la mystique hellénistique. Il lui a échappé un texte important de
lex., Strom., V, 4 (P.G., IX, 41 b = 2, p. 340 St.). Commentant le γνῶθι
delphique, l'auteur rappelle d'abord l'exégèse des anciens (ὅτι θνητὸς εἶ),
joute: καὶ εἰς τί γέγονας γνῶθι, φησί, καὶ τίνος εἰκὼν ὑπάρχεις· τίς τέ σου ἡ οὐσία,
δημιουργία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκείωσις τίς, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια.

xc. ex Theodoto, 78, p. 88 Casey (Londres, 1934): ἔστιν δὲ οὐ τὸ λουτρὸν
ἐλευθεροῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γνῶσις, τίνες ἦμεν, τί γεγόναμεν· ποῦ ἦμεν, ἢ ποῦ ἐνεβλή-
οῦ σπεύδομεν, πόθεν λυτρούμεθα· τί γέννησις, τί ἀναγέννησις. Sur ce texte, cf.
D. Nock, Gnomon, XII, 11 (Nov., 1936), p. 609, qui le compare à Porph.,
., 1, 27, où il est question aussi d'un sommeil accablant.
e l'empire de la Fatalité, cf. Idéal, pp. 112–113.

sommes devenus; où nous étions, où nous avons été pl
vers quoi nous nous hâtons,[41] par quoi nous sommes rach
ce qu'est la naissance, ce qu'est la renaissance.' [42] L'aute
nie point que le λουτρόν délivre, mais il ne reconnaît cette
au rite que si l'on y joint la connaissance de la régénérat
Il n'est donc pas douteux que, pour le valentinien, la gnos
liée à un rite baptismal au sens propre: l'âme se plonge da
cuve non pour boire mais pour se laver (λουτρόν), et le p
lélisme des formules qui désignent l'objet de la gnose dan
Exc. ex Theodoto et le C.H. IV ne permet guère d'hésite
le sens de βαπτίζεσθαι en ce dernier ouvrage.[44]

La caractéristique de C.H. IV est donc un mélange de
rites: d'une part l'absorption d'un breuvage sacré tiré du
tère, d'autre part un bain de purification et d'initiation
signe de ce mélange est l'alliance même des mots βάπτισον
τήν et κρατῆρα. Enfin la fonction de ce mélange est de
férer [45] la 'connaissance' qui rend initié parfait ou, pour
ciser davantage, qui divinise l'homme [46] en lui donnan

[41] Pour σπεύδομεν, cf. C.H., IV, 5: ἐπὶ τὸ ἓν καὶ μόνον σπεύδουσιν, Cic.,
Scip., 14: quid moror in terris? quin huc ad vos venire propero; Albin.,
Orac. Chald., p. 52 Kroll: χρή σε σπεύδειν πρὸς τὸ φάος καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐγάς; I
de myster., 82, 12: τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ σπεύδοντας κατέχει περὶ τὸν τῇδε τόπον (
sence des démons). Norden (p. 107, n. 2) fait dériver toutes ces expressi
Plat., Théét., 176 a–b.

[42] Pour γέννησις-ἀναγέννησις, cf. C.H., XIII, 3: ἐγεννήθην ἐν νῷ, 2: ποταπὸς
νώμενος. Au lieu de ἀναγέννησις, ce traité (intitulé λόγος ἀπόκρυφος περὶ παλιγγε
emploie παλιγγενεσία, XIII, 1 (μηδένα δύνασθαι σωθῆναι πρὸ τῆς π.), 7 (τρόπος τ
10 (id.), 13, 16 (ὕμνος τῆς π.), 22 (μηδενί, τέκνον, ἐκφαίνων τῆς π. τὴν παράδοσιν
ps. 'liturgie de Mithra' se sert du verbe μεταγεννᾶσθαι, p. 4, 13; 12, 4 Dieteric
ces emplois divers, Reitzenstein, Hellen. Myst.[3], pp. 262–265, voir aussi Po
dres, pp. 215, 231.

[43] Cf. Exc. 76: ὁ γὰρ εἰς θεὸν βαπτισθεὶς εἰς θεὸν ἐχώρησεν (cf. C.H., IV, 5:
. . . μετέσχον, οὗτοι . . . ἐπὶ τὸ ἓν . . . σπεύδουσιν) καὶ εἴληφεν ἐξουσίαν. Plu
rappelant la parole de Mt. 28, 19, l'auteur poursuit: (baptisez au nom du
du Fils et du Saint-Esprit) εἰς οὓς ἀναγεννώμεθα. Exc. 80, 1: ὃν γεννᾷ ἡ μήτ
θάνατον ἄγεται καὶ εἰς κόσμον (cette vue pessimiste sur le κόσμος se retrouve
VI), ὃν δὲ ἀναγεννᾷ Χριστός, εἰς ζωὴν μετατίθεται, εἰς Ὀγδοάδα (cf. C.H., I, 26; XII

[44] Le sens métaphorique n'est pas entièrement exclu en vertu des exe
cités supra, et de l'analogie entre la formule valentinienne et celle de Por
(cf. n. 39) où le 'sommeil' a valeur de métaphore.

[45] Plus exactement: perfectionner, car la connaissance est prérequise a
quel qu'il soit.

[46] ὥστε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποθεῶσαι, C.H., IV, 7.

nter sans trouble jusqu'à l'Un et Seul à travers les cercles stres et les choeurs des démons (8). Selon la terminologie lique, nous dirions que notre texte fond ensemble les deux ments de Baptême et d'Eucharistie qui, dans la primitive e, étaient immédiatement connexes et se conféraient en- le en une même cérémonie.

s lors, le problème apparaît exactement celui-ci: trouve- quelque exemple contemporain du même mélange des rites? — je dis bien *mélange*, et non pas connexion seulement ne dans l'Eglise orthodoxe. Cet exemple nous est fourni e IVe livre de la Pistis Sophia (c. 142) et, avec plus de encore, par le IIe livre de Jeû (c. 45) dont C. Schmidt a ntré sans conteste qu'il est la source de P.S. 142.[47]

tons d'abord que le but du mystère est identique dans rits coptes et dans le C.H. IV.[48] Jésus a fait connaître à isciples tous les châtiments réservés au pécheur après la lors même qu'il n'a péché que par oubli ou ignorance. quoi (P.S., c. 141) les disciples se jettent aux pieds du re[49] et lui demandent de leur donner quelque moyen apper aux Archontes qui se nourrissent des âmes humaines ne des lions de leur proie. Jésus répond qu'il va leur don- s clefs du royaume céleste, c'est à dire les rendre supé- aux Archontes, lesquels leur seront soumis. Ce moyen ut, c'est au juste le *mystère*, qui consiste en trois baptêmes: au, du feu et de l'esprit.

us donc, après avoir conduit ses disciples sur une mon- ,[50] les invite à regarder vers le haut; ils voient alors une re immense, très puissante, indescriptible.[51] Puis Jésus ommande de détourner les yeux de la lumière: ils voient du feu, de l'eau, du vin et du sang, et Jésus leur explique

our ce qui va suivre, cf. C. Schmidt, Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften, I, ité ici Schm.[2]), p. 243–245, 308–309, et le commentaire du même auteur, sche Schriften in koptischer Sprache, T U, VIII, 1892 (cité ici Schm.[1]), c. Die Lehre von den Mysterien, p. 475–526, en particulier 486 ss., 490–491 e du mystère), 497–502 (comparaison de P.S. et de II Jeû), 507–508 ge des deux sacrements de baptême et d'eucharistie), 524–525.

omme aussi bien dans la ps. liturgie de Mithra, cf. Idéal, p. 107, n. 12.

f. C.H., I, 29.

f. C.H., XIII, 1.

f. C.H., I, 1 la description du Poimandrès-φῶς.

que ce sont là les 'mystères de la Lumière' qui non seule
purifient des fautes, mais rendent entièrement parfait
permettent à l'âme, devenue, après la mort, une effluence
lumière, de traverser tous les bataillons (*τάξεις*)[53] des a
pour arriver à son lieu.

Le but des mystères ainsi défini, l'on passe à la descriptio
chacun des trois baptêmes. Le premier seul, baptême de l'
nous intéresse ici.[54]

(*a*) Les disciples apportent du feu et des sarments de vi
(*b*) Jésus apporte l'offrande de sacrifice (*προσφορά* P.S., *
II Jeû).
(*c*) Il place deux cratères [55] de vin, l'un à droite, l'aut
gauche de l'offrande.
(*d*) Il dépose l'offrande devant les disciples.
(*e*) Il place un vase à boire (*ποτήριον*) rempli d'eau de
le cratère de droite et un autre vase à boire rempli de
devant le cratère de gauche, ajoute à ces objets un non
de pains égal à celui des disciples et met enfin un der
vase à boire rempli d'eau derrière les pains.

Ces préparatifs achevés, Jésus prononce une longue p
parsemée d'invocations magiques pour supplier le Père, qu
également la Lumière,[56] d'accorder aux disciples la rémis
de leurs fautes et l'accès à la lumière. En signe de sa faveur,
le Père accomplisse un miracle: qu'il envoie Zorokothora le
apportera 'l'eau du baptême de vie' dans l'une de ces
cuves à vin (cratères -*ἀγγεῖα*). 'Au même instant, le mir
annoncé par Jésus s'accomplit, le vin à droite de l'offrande
changé en eau, les disciples s'approchèrent de Jésus et il
baptisa,[57] leur donna un morceau de l'offrande de sacrific
leur imposa le sceau.' [58]

[52] *παντέλειος*, P.S. c. 96, Schm.[2], p. 145, 21. Il s'agit ici des 'mystères de l'
fable,' qui, comme l'a montré C. Schmidt (Schm.[1], p. 481–482), correspondent
'mystères du baptême' de II Jeû. [53] Cf. C.H., I, 13.

[54] Cf. Schm.[1], p. 490–491 et 497–502.

[55] Ici *ἀγγεῖα*, cf. Schm.[1], p. 524.

[56] Cf. C.H., I, 6.

[57] Il ne peut s'agir, à cette date, d'une simple aspersion, mais bien de la plo
dans la cuve à vin.

[58] II Jeû, c. 4, Schm.[2], p. 309, 19–23.

n, dans la P.S., la cérémonie de ce premier baptême
ve sur une exhortation à l'apostolat et au silence comme
trouve dans les Hermetica: [59] 'Ceci est le mode et la
ceci est le mystère que vous devez accomplir pour les
es qui seront disposés à croire en vous,[60] en lesquels il
as de ruse, et qui vous écoutent en tous vos bons discours.
seront effacés tous les péchés et délits (*ἀνομίαι*) qu'ils
commis jusqu'au jour où vous aurez accompli pour eux
tère. Cependant cachez ce mystère et ne le donnez pas
les hommes, mais seulement à celui qui suivra tous les
tes que je vous ai donnés dans mes commandements.
donc le vrai mystère du baptême pour ceux dont les
seront effacés et dont les délits seront recouverts. Tel
baptême de la première offrande, qui montre la route du
eu, du lieu de la lumière.' [61]

me dans le C.H. IV, la caractéristique la plus singulière
érémonie de II Jeû est la fusion de deux rites.[62] D'une
s deux *ἀγγεῖα* et le vase à boire plein de vin, les pains
nombre correspond à celui des disciples, le changement
en eau,[63] le linge blanc qu'on dispose sous les aliments
l'encens qu'on brûle, enfin les termes mêmes de *προσφορά*
a, tous ces traits désignent un sacrement de communion
istique. D'autre part, sans compter certains détails
es,[64] la seule dénomination de l'acte sacré comme 'bap-
de l'eau du cratère comme 'eau du baptême de vie,'
marquer, sans doute possible, qu'il s'agit ici d'un sacre-
aptismal. 'Nous aboutissons dès lors,' écrit Schmidt, 'à
onclusion importante, que ces gnostiques ont célébré le
ent du baptême et de l'eucharistie comme *un seul* [65]
ent et qu'ils ont ainsi mis en usage un rituel de culte
mplexe.' [66]

I., I, 26 fin (apostolat), XIII, 13 (silence), Asclep., 1 (silence).
C.H., IV, 4.
m.², p. 245, 6–19.
Schm.¹, p. 507–508.
e C. Schmidt interprète comme un miracle de transsubstantiation,
, p. 524–526.
ement blanc et couronne des disciples, imposition du sceau (*σφραγίς*, cf.
. 517), etc.
ligné dans le texte. [66] Schm.¹, p. 508.

Dans la recherche que je me suis proposée, je suis parti
principe que le rite originel d'où dérive le symbolisme de
IV [67] devait offrir cette union des deux éléments qui fait
cisément l'étrangeté du fait: 'baptême dans un cratère.' [68]
encore une fois, il ne sert à rien de se référer disjointemen
au cratère seul, soit au seul baptême: on néglige alors
sentiel. Or cette union ne paraît, à ma connaissance, que
II Jeû c. 45. C'est donc vers le cercle gnostique où on
composés en grec les deux écrits (I–II Jeû, P.S.) dont no
possédons plus que la version copte que je serais incliné
garder pour trouver la véritable origine de la formule de
IV, 4. Sans doute, selon sa méthode ordinaire, l'auteur h
tique a-t-il transposé. Ce qui était, dans la secte gnost
mystère cultuel au sens propre,[69] sacrement d'initiation ré
à une élite,[70] devient ici un symbole, un mystère spir
logique,[71] ou, comme j'ai dit ailleurs, littéraire. Mais le p
lélisme n'en est pas moins trop complet, trop précis, et
au rite lui-même dans sa nature et dans son but, et quan
vision qui l'annonce et aux recommandations qui l'achè
pour ne pas rendre très probable quelque rapport ent
groupe de spirituels où s'élabora le C.H. IV et le cercle
tique qui vit naître la Pistis Sophia et les livres de Jeû. D
rapprochements, le C.H. offre plus d'un exemple. Il
aussi vain de les presser outre mesure [72] que de les nier en

[67] Je ne puis partager l'opinion de Braüninger, op. cit., p. 18: 'Dass
Geistestaufe in den Hermes-Gemeinden wirklich als kultischer Brauch bes
hat, dürfen wir wohl annehmen.' Ce jugement me paraît méconnaître l'é
le plus original de l'hermétisme, qui est de viser à une religion spirituelle
θυσία), sans mystagogue et sans mystères; cf. Idéal, IIème partie, c. 3; My
cultuels et mystères littéraires, p. 116 ss. A propos du C.H. IV, on trouv
Braüninger (p. 18) une allusion à II Jeû, mais en passant, et sans que l'aut
noté le point capital de l'analogie.

[68] Je ne comprends pas la phrase de Reitzenstein, Hellen. Mysteri
p. 165: 'Ein κρατήρ wird bei der Reinigung oder Taufe in den griechischen
terien immer verwendet': il n'est pas un seul exemple de cratère en relation
avec le λουτρόν; cf. supra, n. 6. La ferme assurance de Reitzenstein
avoir disparu dans la 3ème édition où j'ai cherché en vain la phrase.

[69] Sur ce point, cf. Schm.[1], p. 510–519.

[70] P.S., c. 142, Schm.[2], p. 245, 6–19, II Jeû, c. 43, Schm.[2], p. 304, et S
p. 519–520.

[71] Cf. la λογικὴ θυσία, C.H., I, 31; XIII, 18, 19, 21.

[72] Par exemple pour déterminer plus exactement à quelle secte gnostiqu

I. Le Corps exécré par le Soleil, C.H., II, 17

) L'autre nom de Dieu est celui de Père, à cause de la qu'il a de créer toutes choses (*διὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν πάντων*): st au père qu'il appartient de créer (*ποιεῖν*). Aussi la ation des enfants (*ἡ παιδοποιΐα*) est-elle tenue par les gens our la fonction la plus importante de la vie et la plus et regarde-t-on le fait qu'un homme quitte la vie sans comme la pire infortune et le plus grand péché, et un tel est-il puni après la mort par les démons. Or voici en nsiste ce châtiment : l'âme de l'homme qui meurt sans est condamnée à entrer dans un corps qui n'a la nature homme ni de la femme, et qui est un objet d'exécration art du Soleil.'

Selon un procédé familier aux Hermetica, l'auteur passe n argument approprié au discours (Dieu père parce que ır) à un morceau 'épisodique' (sainteté de la procréation ıe). Le glissement s'opère sur le mot même de *ποιεῖν παιδοποιΐα*), et le couplet nouveau ne se rattache au ent que par ce lien purement verbal.[73]

L'*ateknia* ici condamnée est évidemment l'*ateknia* volon- our les raisons qu'indique Stobée (IV, 22, 28 et 24, 16 . C'est, aux yeux de l'auteur, un péché. Il ne peut donc le l'*ateknos* irresponsable qui ne doit son infortune qu'à lheureuse conjonction d'astres.[74]

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it l'auteur de C.H. IV. On peut admettre, il est vrai, une autre hy- C'est que, dans II Jeû et P.S. comme dans C.H. IV, la cérémonie n'a eur que de symbole, la gnose chrétienne et l'hermétique ayant suivi la marche de pensée qui consiste à transposer en mystère littéraire des rites rthodoxes pratiquaient en fait (dans ce cas d'ailleurs, le symbolisme de témoigne d'un degré beaucoup plus spiritualisé, presque poétique, dans de transposition). Cette hypothèse admise, il resterait encore que ce me commun fond ensemble deux sacrements distincts dans la pratique. à mes yeux, le point qui importe.

me passage de la fécondité divine à la fécondité humaine, Asclep., 20–21. C.H., IX, 3) l'enfantement des concepts par l'intellect mène à une longue n sur les démons (3–5) par un glissement sur les mots *ἀποκνηθεῖσαν*, *κύει-* (germes semés par les démons dans l'intellect).

par exemple Cat. Cod. Astr. Gr., V, 2, p. 56, 15–18. Pour l'opposé, la a, cf. ibid., p. 57, 18–19. Théoriquement, il est vrai, dans un monde régi *αρμένη*, cette *ateknia* volontaire est elle-même préordonnée comme le t qui la punit, cf. C.H., XII, 5–9.

(3) La punition de l'*ἄτεκνος* volontaire comporte deux ments: d'une part l'âme du défunt retourne dans un corps la nature spéciale reste à déterminer; d'autre part ce nou corps est exécré par le Soleil. Si le couplet sur la *παιδοποιΐα* rait être également signé d'un Grec, d'un Juif ou d'un Egypt ce châtiment ainsi décrit porte, dans l'ensemble, la marq l'Egypte, cependant que le second trait dénote peut-êt quelque influence du Judaïsme.[76]

(4) Le 'corps qui n'a la nature ni de l'homme ni de la fe n'est certes pas l'animal [77] et le morceau n'a rien à voir av polémique de C.H., X, 19–20 contre la réincarnation da corps de bête.[78]

(*a*) Si l'on visait l'animal, l'expression serait fort inadé — mieux vaudrait alors *εἰς σῶμα μηκέτι ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἔχο* car un animal n'en reste pas moins mâle ou femelle.

(*b*) La mention des deux sexes (noter *ἀνδρός*) suffit à mo qu'on n'a point affaire ici à l'opposition familière entre *ἄ* et *λόγον ἔχον*, mais à une distinction entre le corps norma est mâle ou femelle et un corps anormal qui n'est ni l' l'autre.

(*c*) La punition doit répondre à la faute. Or la teneur r de la formule suggère qu'on doit chercher le châtiment l'ordre des possibilités génésiques.

(*d*) Enfin et surtout, pourquoi l'animal comme tel se exécré par le Soleil? Propos si étonnant en effet qu'il a i

[75] Pour l'Egypte, cf. Asclep., 21. Pour les Juifs et Chrétiens, Justin., A 29, 1, Athenag., XXXIII et le commentaire de Geffcken, p. 232. Pour les Max. Tyr., XXVI, 9.

[76] Il n'a en tout cas rien de grec. La punition de l'*ἄτεκνος* grec est de laisser de fils qui verse les libations sur sa tombe.

[77] Contre Scott, t. II, p. 109–110. [J. Kroll, Lehre 343 avait mieux vu: songeait à un corps hybride, androgyne, hermaphrodite: 'Seine Seele m einen Zwitterkörper wandern.' Cette interprétation aurait pour elle un te primé dans des éditions de la *Mischnah* que veut bien me signaler M. A. D. cf. tr. H. Danby, p. 98, 'The androgynos is in some things like to men and i things like to women, and in some things like both to men and to women, some things like neither to men nor to women.']

[78] Doctrine exposée C.H., X, 7–8, Koré Kosmou, 39, 42, Asclep., 12; cf Et. Gr., XLIX, 233 (Oct. 1936), p. 586–595.

[79] C.H., X, 20 dit franchement *ψυχὴ . . . θηριάζεται.* Koré Kosmou, 39 *νὸν μὲν οὐκέτι οἰκήσετε, οὐδ' αὖ σώματα ἀνθρώπων, ⟨εἰς⟩ ζῷα δ' ἄλογα μεταπλανώμεν λοιπὸν διατελέσετε.*

à transposer *ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατηραμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ* 'Ηλίου après *τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαλλαγῆναι*, ce qui aboutit à une té.

corps ni mâle ni femelle est celui de l'eunuque, et la for- employée est si claire qu'elle pourrait servir de définition nuchisme. Dès lors, on voit aussitôt quelle espèce de ns entre ici en jeu et quel rôle précis ils ont à jouer.

t individu, et quant à l'âme et quant au corps, dépend ement de la conjonction des astres au moment où il naît. telle ou telle géniture, il aura beaucoup d'enfants ou n'en oint, sera heureux en amour ou incapable d'aimer. C'est Vettius Valens développe tout au long [80] pour marquer rsité des conditions amoureuses selon que, à l'heure de la nce, Vénus et Saturne sont en aspect trigone, quadrat ou Bornons-nous à ce dernier point:

and Vénus et Saturne sont réciproquement en aspect ils composent la même figure apotélesmatique que quand t trigones, mais avec des effets moins précis et plus . Si c'est le matin et à l'est, ils virilisent les femmes, eulement dans leur comportement, mais jusque là que, ant avec des femmes, elles tiennent en ces unions le rôle omme; si c'est le soir, ils féminisent les hommes: car, s, couchant avec des hommes, ils tiennent en ces unions de la femme, et souvent même ils sont privés de leurs es génitaux.' [81]

es astres ont à leur service des démons. C'est une doc- ien connue pour laquelle je ne veux me référer ici qu'au .H. On lit au traité XVI, 13–14: 'Sous les ordres du a été placé le choeur des démons, ou plutôt les choeurs: sont nombreux et divers, placés sous le commandement rrés des astres, en nombre égal pour chacun des astres. insi rangés donc, ils sont de service auprès de chacun des . . . A tous ces démons a été assigné plein pouvoir sur ires de la terre. . . . Car ils remodèlent nos âmes et ils itent en les attirant à eux, installés qu'ils sont dans nos

t. Cod. Astr. Gr., V, 2, p. 67, 11 ss.

ἔριοι δὲ θηλύνουσι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ ἀνδράσι συγκοιμώμενοι γυναικῶν ελοῦσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν γονίμων στερίσκονται, ibid., p. 68, 1–3.

nerfs et nos moelles, dans nos veines et nos artères, da
cerveau lui-même, et pénétrant jusqu'à nos propres entra
(15) Car, au moment où chacun de nous est venu à naître
reçu une âme, il est pris en charge par les démons qui so
service à cet instant précis de la naissance, c'est-à-dire pa
démons qui ont été placés sous les ordres de chacun des as

Ce sont donc ces démons chargés d'appliquer sur ter
décisions de leurs maîtres célestes qui travaillent à faire
respondre la conception et la naissance d'un individu do
telle conjonction d'astres, géniture dont dépendra l'état
siologique du nouveau corps. Ainsi s'explique en toute
cision que le châtiment de l'*ἄτεκνος* volontaire soit confié
démons. Car, si ce châtiment est un effet de l'apotélesmat
la rencontre de telle naissance avec tel 'aspect' céleste n'
être déterminée que par le moyen des démons.

(5) D'où vient maintenant que le corps de l'eunuque
exécré par le Soleil sinon parce que le Soleil est avant to
pourvoyeur de la vie et que la seule présence, sur terre,
être inapte à transmettre la vie est pour Hélios un outr
Sans doute le C.H. témoigne-t-il des tendances de l'époque
la foi et dans le culte en marquant la royauté unive
d'Hélios. Dieu suprême parmi les dieux célestes, le Sole
roi des astres qui, à ce titre, lui obéissent comme à leur dy
(V, 3). Situé au centre du Kosmos, image du Kosmos (XI,
il règne à la fois sur les régions d'en haut et celles d'en
transmettant à la terre la substance céleste, attirant à l
matière (XVI, 5).[82] Mais c'est surtout la fonction du S
comme pourvoyeur et mainteneur de la vie que le C.H.
en valeur. Image du Démiurge supracéleste, le Soleil faç
à son tour et engendre les animaux et les plantes (Stob. Her
XXI, 2; C.H., XVI, 5, 17). Il est celui dont les bonnes éne
pénètrent sur la terre et jusqu'au fond de la mer (XVI, 5)

[82] Cf. OGI, 90, 2–3 (mon. Rosett.): (*βασιλεύοντος τοῦ νέου . . . κυρίου*),
λέως καθάπερ ὁ Ἥλιος, μέγας βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν, 619, 3–4 (S
εἰς τὸν δεσπότην (*Δία*) *ἀνίκητον Ἥλιον*, Sammelb. 4127, 15 ss. (Talmis, Nubie):
σε ἔγνων, Μανδοῦλι, Ἥλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, ἁπάντων βασιλέα, Amm. M
4, 21–22: *Ἥλιος θεὸς* (*μέγας*) *δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ*, et, pour l'image de l'escorte c
[Arist.] de mundo 6, 398 a, 10 ss. avec le commentaire de E. Peterson, Der M
theismus als politisches Problem, 1935, pp. 16–21, 102–105.

ec le Kosmos, père de tous 'les êtres qui participent à ce,' c'est-à-dire des êtres changeants, des vivants ter- (X, 2). C'est par le canal du Soleil que les pères humains nt du Bien suprême l'appétit d'engendrer et de nourrir ogéniture (X, 3). Car le Soleil est essentiellement le con- eur et le nourricier de toute race des vivants (XVI, 12; si XVIII, 11, Asclep., 3).

es, rien n'est plus commun, au temps des Sévères, qu'une otion du dieu Soleil: Hélios est lumière de la vie; [83] avec orte de planètes il envoie ici-bas ses rayons vivifiants; [84] lui qu'est dû tout germe de vie sur la terre.[85] Mais peut- n vertu de l'antique culte de Ra, se montre-t-elle en e sous un jour un peu spécial. Dans les papyrus magiques, onction créatrice du Soleil tient une si grande place — qu'il de citer une prière à Hélios du papyrus de Paris [86] et la Kosmopoiia de Leyde [87] dont le caractère égyptien ien décelé par Dieterich,[88] — on notera un détail spéci- ent indigène qui importe pour notre objet: c'est en riant lats, en manifestant sa joie que le dieu crée. Dans la poiia il rit sept fois, et chacun de ses éclats de rire suscite veau progrès dans l'oeuvre de la création. Comme les ou la sueur du Soleil (pluie et rosée), ce rire a surtout un ysique, il signifie l'aspect de l'astre quand il brille en a splendeur. Mais l'image n'en suggère pas moins que il éprouve du contentement à produire la vie. Dans la Kosmou, alors que les dieux des astres ont supplié le l'organiser le Kosmos et qu'il cède à leur prière, il sourit l,[89] puis, d'une parole, fait venir à l'être, sous la figure femme, Physis, la force qui fera naître et croître les s.

Soleil a donc joie à créer la vie, il doit nécessairement

: *φῶς*, H. Orph., VIII, 18.
γόνους πέμπουσιν . . . ῥαθάμιγγας, Procl., Hymn., I, 10.
l., 12; cf. A. Dieterich, Abraxas, p. 49, n. 6.
M, IV, 1611–15: *ἀνέθαλεν ἡ γῆ σου ἐπιλάμψαντος καὶ ἐκαρποφόρησεν τὰ φυτά αντος, ἐζωογόνησε τὰ ζῷά σου ἐπιτρέψαντος*, cf. aussi ibid., 439 = 1960 = VIII, *ὃν αὐτὸς ἅπαντ' ἄπερ πάλιν ἐξαναλύεις.*
M, XIII, 162 ss. = 472 ss.
axas, p. 24 ss.
θίασεν ὁ θεός, K. Kosmou 10.

bénir toute transmission de la vie, toute *παιδοποιΐα*, com doit haïr, à l'encontre, l'être privé de virilité qui met u stacle à cette transmission.

(6) Tel est, à mon jugement, le sens obvie de notre t Peut-être ce sens est-il confirmé par un curieux détail du p rus de Londres B.M. 10588.[90] Il s'agit d'un charme dest séparer deux époux. L'instrument du charme est un lézar le but de l'*ἀγωγή* est de susciter entre ces deux époux la r haine que celle qui anime le Soleil contre le lézard. Or pou le Soleil hait-il le lézard? N'est-ce pas pour le rôle que jo lézard dans les charmes d'inhibition? Selon les mages Pline l'Ancien, si l'on noie un lézard dans l'urine d'un ho on arrête sa virilité.[91] Cette croyance était répandue e parmi les sorciers du Moyen Age: placé sous le seuil maison, le lézard empêche toute union sexuelle et toute co tion humaine et animale.[92] En d'autres termes, dans la r amoureuse, le lézard rend eunuque: de là vient sans dout le Soleil n'en peut souffrir la vue.[93]

(7) Faut-il aller plus loin et attacher à notre texte qu portée morale? Je ne suggère ici qu'une possibilité, en indi les documents qui me l'ont mise dans l'esprit. On a vu haut que Vettius Valens, d'accord avec les moeurs du te

[90] Cf. H. J. Bell, A. D. Nock, H. Thompson, Magical Texts from a bil papyrus in the British Museum, Proceed. of the Br. Acad., XVII, p. 20–21, Je n'indique ici qu'une possibilité, sans presser outre mesure l'argument.

[91] N.H., XXX, 41, cf. Magical Texts, p. 43. [92] Magical Texts, p.

[93] Olympiodore, p. 101, 15–102, 3 Berthelot (Scott, t. IV, p. 152, n. 1, c le texte bien inutilement) fait état de deux autres animaux exécrés par le So coq et la taupe. Tous deux ont été des hommes qui ont commis un crim crime de l'homme qui devait être changé en coq n'est pas défini; celui de l'h qui devait être changé en taupe est d'avoir connu la vraie forme du So divulgué ce mystère aux autres hommes. Peut-être y a-t-il là une confusion *ἀσπάλαξ* et *Ἀσκάλαφος*, le démon infernal qui trahit Perséphone: M. Nock su une confusion pareille dans le cas de l'*ἀσκάλαβος*-Ascalaphos, Mag. Texts, p. la vérité, on comprend bien comment le mythe a pu fleurir (un mythe an dans les deux cas) en ce qui regarde le hibou et la taupe: l'un et l'autre fui lumière, *ἀμέλει καὶ ἐὰν φθάσῃ θεωρηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, οὐ δέχεται αὐτὸν ἡ γῆ ἕως ἑ* Olymp., loc. cit. Mais le coq? Mais le lézard qui, s'il aime les trous d'oml plaît aussi à être grillé par le Soleil? cf. Mag. Texts, p. 43–44.

[94] Les Stob. Hermet. (Exc., XXIV, 12) localisent la pédérastie dans le du Nord, *τὸ νῦν Ἰταλικὸν κλίμα καὶ τὸ Ἑλλαδικόν*, les Sibyll. (III, 596 ss.) en ac tous les peuples sauf les seuls Juifs.

sur le même rang l'eunuque et le prostitué, le *spado* et
edus. Or il est une religion particulièrement méprisante
rd de l'eunuque,[95] particulièrement sévère pour le *cinae-*
est la religion judaïque. En voici quelques témoignages:
l'eunuque: Deuteron. 23, 1: 'Ni l'eunuque (θλαδίας) ni
ont les organes virils ont été coupés n'entrera dans l'as-
e du Seigneur.'
le prostitué: Levit. 18, 22: 'Tu ne coucheras pas avec
me à la manière d'une femme,[96] car c'est une abomina-

3: 'Si un homme a couché avec un homme à la manière
emme, ils ont fait l'un et l'autre une abomination.'
eron. 22, 5: 'Une femme ne portera pas les vêtements
mme ni un homme ne se revêtira de la robe de la femme:
ui qui agit de la sorte est en abomination devant le
r ton Dieu,' βδέλυγμα κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σού ἐστιν.
17–18: 'Il n'y aura pas de prostituée parmi les filles
l et il n'y aura pas de prostitué parmi les fils d'Israël: [97]
porteras pas en offrande à la maison du Seigneur ton
our quelque voeu que ce soit, le salaire de la prostituée
in du chien (*cinaedus*): car l'un et l'autre sont en abomi-
devant le Seigneur ton Dieu.'
s la littérature postérieure, notons en particulier l'ex-
n de l'Apocalypse (21, 27) qui rappelle Deuteron. 23, 1:
ns la Jérusalem céleste n'entrera aucun prostitué de
l'autre sexe [98] ni celui qui commet l'abomination et le
ge,' [99] et celle des Sibyllina qui reproduit, à la lettre, la
tion de C.H., II, 17: σπέρματα μὴ κλέπτειν· ἐπαράσιμος
ηται.[100]
luence du Judaïsme sur le C.H. est si amplement at-

s doute par réaction contre certaines pratiques cultuelles des pays avoisi-

μετὰ ἄρσενος οὐ κοιμηθήσῃ κοιτὴν γυναικείαν: de là le mot ἀρσενοκοιτεῖν propre
ature judéo-chrétienne.
défense vise à coup sûr la prostitution religieuse, comme le montre le v.
rpolation des LXX, touchant la participation aux mystères des païens.
κοινόν, cf. κοινή ap. Vett. Val., 119, 30 Kroll, Porph. Hist. Phil., 12.
uteur désigne formellement les deux vices majeurs du paganisme aux
Juifs, prostitution virile et culte des faux dieux.
yll., II, 71 ss. avec les notes de Geffcken; cf. III, 185, 596 ss., 764, etc.

testée qu'elle n'aurait rien pour étonner dans le cas du tra
Ce n'en serait pas moins une influence indirecte, l'auteur
substitué le Soleil au Dieu des Juifs, substitution elle-
facilitée par le caractère moral dont la religion solaire
empreinte à mesure qu'Hélios recevait tous les attributs
Divinité Suprême. Non seulement Hélios est le garant
justice et le défenseur des opprimés [101] — or Lactance
23, 9) tient la pédérastie pour une sorte de meurtre, -
seulement il protège les pieux et châtie les impies,[102]
surtout il est le dieu très pur [103] et purifiant [104] qui ne peu
porter la vue d'aucune souillure.

[101] H. Orph., VIII, 16–18, Procl., Hymn, I, 39. Pour Jahvé, cf. Syll.[3], 11
also Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, I, p. 1042 where a R
text is quoted as naming a homosexual act as one of the four sins causing an e
different list is given, ib. II, p. 198. — A. D. N.]

[102] H. Orph., VIII, 8, Procl., Hymn., I, 45–46.

[103] ἀμίαντος, H. Orph., VIII, 13.

[104] Procl., Hymn., I, 35, 40.

IE BOOK OF ENOCH AND PARADISE LOST

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any years it has been the accepted belief that 'from the century of our era' the Book of I Enoch 'gradually out of circulation, and became lost to the knowledge of rn Christendom' until 1773, 'when an Ethiopic version work was found in Abyssinia by Bruce.' [1] It is doubtless lat I Enoch was not in any exact sense known to Europe ne return of Bruce, but the belief that he was the first to ver' the book or its Ethiopic translation appears errone- This discovery had been made approximately two cen- before 1773. In his widely read Relation of a Journey Sandys informs the reader that in a mountain fastness

or *AEthiopians* . . . have . . . the goodliest Librarie of the world: any bookes that are lost with vs, or but meerely mentioned, are kept s hath bin lately reported by a Spanish Frier that hath seene them, if beleeue him: amongst which, they say, are the oracles of *Enoch* (with ysteries that escaped the Flood, ingrauen by him vpon pillars) and n their vulgar language.[2]

qually popular Purchas his Pilgrimage, a work known ed by Milton, gives in greater detail a largely similar t, and says in part that within this library

e the writings of *Enoch* copied out of the stones wherein they were en- which entreat of Philosophy, of the Heauens and Elements. Others r the name of *Noe*, the subject whereof is Cosmography, Mathe- Ceremonies and Prayers . . . many of *Esdras*, the Prophets and the iests. And besides the foure canonicall Gospels, many others . . . ption] Fr. Luys (*Luys de Vtreta de la historia de la Ethiopia*) hath a ge catalogue of them, l. 1, c. 9. taken out (as he saith) of an *Index*, *nthony Gricus* and *L. Cremones* made of them, being sent thither by *Gregory* 13. [1572–85] at the instance of Cardinall *Garlet*, which saw ired the varietie of them, as did many others then in their company

uote from R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old t, Oxford, 1912, II, 163. Charles lists (pp. 165–166) twenty-nine Ethiopic pts of Enoch, and of Enoch and other works.

elation of a Iourney begun An: Dom: 1610, London, 1621, p. 171. The first peared in 1615; others in 1627, 1632, 1637, 1652, and 1673.

. . . [text] When Ierusalem was destroyed by *Titus*; when the Saracens ranne the Christian world; many bookes were conueyed out of the Ea parts into AEthiopia.[3]

Some years after Sandys and Purchas, Peter Heylyn say third widely read work that in one of the palaces on M Amara 'is a famous *Library*, wherein are said to be many B which with us are either in part or totally lost; as the Orac *Enoch*, with the mysteries which escaped the flood, bein him ingraven on Pillars. . . . Which being heretofore trans by the *Saracens* into the *Arabick* Tongue . . . are said by good fortune to be here preserved.' [4] In view of the fact tha possess today many Ethiopic manuscripts of Enoch, an Enoch and other books, including four which are pre-se teenth century, the related statements of Sandys, Pur Heylyn, and others that I Enoch was then extant in Abys would appear unquestionable.

It is also apparent that the various churchmen who vi the library were in position to bring back some informatio garding the contents of Enoch. The widely read worl Sandys, Purchas, Heylyn, with that of Luys, which I hav seen, doubtless would have stimulated interested travelle seek such manuscript or oral information concerning the as might be obtained. There exists, it would seem, a dis possibility that the seventeenth century scholar intereste I Enoch could have known more of this book than was avai in the small fragments preserved in the New Testament patristic writers, or in the larger fragments of Synce Chronographia, published in Paris some years after 1650.[5]

[3] London, 1626, pp. 744–745. This is the fourth edition, and was published as v five of Purchas his Pilgrimes. The first edition appeared in 1613, others in 161 1617. In his Commonplace Book (Camden Society, 1876, pp. 3, 6 [13, 57]) Milto three times the five volume edition of 1625–1626. The poet's use of the page in Pu upon which the description of the library opens has, I believe, been adequately de strated by Professor Lane Cooper, The Abyssinian Paradise in Coleridge and M MP, III (1905–1906), 327–332.

[4] Cosmography in Four Books, London, 1674, IV, 53. This work, an enlargem the Μικρόκοσμος, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1629, 1630, 1633, 1636, was given its present t 1652, and reprinted in 1657, 1666, etc.

[5] The most complete statement of the indebtedness of New Testament and writers to I Enoch is that provided by Charles in his Introduction to the Bo Enoch, ed. cit., pp. 177–184.

Professors Fletcher and Baldwin have demonstrated, n was one of the seventeenth century students most deeply l in extra-Biblical religious works.[6] His letters indicate n keeping with other scholars of his day, he was interested nuscripts.[7] It is generally known that he was in touch and was visited by learned men from all Europe. In ion to having known and used Purchas, Milton was in all bility acquainted with the Relation of Sandys and the ography of Heylyn,[8] and had utilized, if he did not own, edition or manuscript of Syncellus, a work which would further stimulated his interest in the Book of Enoch.[9]

. F. Fletcher, Milton's Semitic Studies, Chicago, 1926, and Milton's Rabbinical gs, Urbana, 1930, especially chapter VIII; E. C. Baldwin, Some Extra-Biblical Influences upon Milton's Story of the Fall of Man, JEGP, XXVIII (1929),

[7] Letters IX, XIX, and XXII.

he latest discussion of Milton's apparent use of Sandys' Relation, commented various editors of Paradise Lost, is that of Douglass Bush, Notes on Milton's l Mythology, SP, XXVIII (1931), pp. 259, 261 ff., passim. The poet's acquaint-th Heylyn was suggested by Henry Todd in his edition of the Poetical Works n, 1809, III, 102n). I shall provide further evidence of Milton's knowledge of the raphy in a note in preparation.

napters vi–x, 14, and xv, 8–xvi, 1, of the Book of Enoch, from which several re cited as correspondences for passages in Paradise Lost, are given with other ragments by George Syncellus in his Chronographia, one of the works published Corpus Byzantinae Historiae. According to John Fabricius (Bibliothecae Grae-. V, pars altera, cap. V, sec. 1), the book was printed (with a Latin translation) in 1652. Professor James Holly Hanford (The Chronology of Milton's Private PMLA, XXXVI (1921), 280n and 284n), suggests that the poet possessed in volumes of the Corpus available by that year, including the Chronographia. aurat, apparently the first student of the present century to connect Milton and cellus fragments (Milton: Man and Thinker, New York, 1925, pp. 254 ff.) Professor Hanford's conclusion. The evidence presented shows beyond question lton utilized two and sought to purchase six other volumes of the Corpus. It is in highly probable that he possessed a copy of the detailed prospectus issued in am inclined, however, to believe that he selected and purchased individual , in part because of the fact that he mentions in the Commonplace Book two ublished in 1647 and 1648, and does not refer to six others published in 1645, d 1648. The ordering in 1657 or 1658 (Letter XXII, trans. Tillyard, p. 40) of a blished in 1649 (Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Historia . . .) shows that he had not ed all the volumes as they appeared. His request at this time for two specific mong a score of unpublished works (Michael Glycas, 1660, and Joannes Sinna-70) quite obviously is selection.

s, however, certain that Milton knew and utilized Syncellus, regardless of or not he purchased the 1652 edition before or after 1658, or borrowed either tion or a manuscript. The availability of the Chronographia prior to Goar's

There were few, if any, writers of the mid-seventeenth cen who would be more likely to desire and in better positio obtain information concerning I Enoch than the poet of P dise Lost. It is therefore in point to seek in Milton's epic dence of direct and indirect contact with the book.

The first fact which develops from comparative analys I Enoch and Paradise Lost is that, with the possible excep of Genesis, there is no single book in the Old and New T ments or in apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, in w are concentrated more conceptions fundamental to Mil epic. Many of these ideas and interpretations of charac although extra-Biblical, are commonplaces which could been obtained from a wide variety of sources.[10] A number ever were not, particularly the poet's conception of the a Uriel. So unusual is this character in Paradise Lost that most outstanding authority on the angelology of the Professor Fletcher, observes that 'the most remarkable cha teristic of Milton's figure of Uriel is the complexity of its st ture. It will be noticed that no single source is sufficien supply all phases of the idea of the Angel found in the poe Because of this conclusion by Professor Fletcher, one b upon exhaustive investigation, it is definitely important, that *all* phases of Milton's conception of Uriel appear in Book of Enoch, and secondly, that Enoch emphasizes one p of the poet's conception of Uriel — that of regent of the verse, for which Professor Fletcher's extended discussion vances no counterpart.

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edition is, I believe, adequately indicated by the use made of it by Joseph Scaliger Notae, pp. 244 ff. and passim, of his Thesaurus Temporum, Eusebii Pamphi Chronicorum . . . Leyden, 1606. With incidental differences and slight omission latter composed largely of the duplications in Syncellus, Scaliger reprints the Bo Enoch fragment preserved in the Chronographia. The major portion of Scaliger print was later translated into English by Samuel Purchas, op. cit., p. 31. I am ind to William W. Rockwell, Librarian of Union Theological Seminary, for his courte permitting use of Scaliger's Thesaurus Temporum by inter-library loan.

[10] Among these extra-Biblical commonplaces are the conceptions that the angels assumed new forms and seduced mankind (Enoch, xix, 1 — PL., I, 357 ff.) that Hell contained the rivers and other details of classical mythology (Enoch, xvii — PL., II, 575 ff.).

[11] Milton's Rabbinical Readings, p. 244

aradise Lost, Milton describes Uriel as:

one of the seven
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes . . .[12]

wise is regent of the Sun and of the physical heavens: [13]

Uriel! for thou of those seven Spirits that stand
In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright,
Thee *first* [my italics] art wont his great authentic will
Interpreter through highest Heaven to bring . . .
And here art likeliest by supreme decree
Like honour to obtain, and as his eye
To visit oft this new Creation round . . .
All these his wondrous works . . . Brightest Seraph, tell
In which of all these shining orbs hath Man
His fixèd seat — or fixèd seat hath none . . .[14]

it is Uriel who describes to Satan the creation of the cos-
ıe movements of the stars, and identifies for him both
nd Moon:

I saw when, at his word, the formless mass,
This World's material mould, came to a heap . . .
And this ethereal quint'essence of Heaven
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That rowled orbicular, and turned to stars
Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move . . .
Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
With light from hence, though but reflected, shines . . .
There the neighbouring Moon . . . her aid . . .
With borrowed light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empties . . .[15]

648–650.

essor Fletcher, op. cit., p. 244, believes that The Midrasch Rabba to the Book
rs provides 'the origin of the conception of Uriel as Angel of the Sun, shedding
ıd letting his rays travel over the whole of the Created Universe' in the follow-
e: 'Uriel is at his (God's) left, toward Dan, which is in the North. Why is his
ed Uriel? Because of the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings (כתובים).
oly One blessed-be-He through Uriel (as through the Sun) spreads his light
and over them (the other nations) as it is said (Isaiah 60.1) "Arise, shine for
s come."' In view of the fact that Professor Fletcher states (p. 243) that the
discussion of the Midrasch describes Uriel 'as one of the Four Presences that
כסאהכבוד (the Throne of Divine Majesty)' we must, I believe, consider the
that the expression, 'through Uriel (as through the Sun) spreads his light,'
ive description of the activity of Uriel as a Presence and personal representa-
ssenger of God.

654 ff. The phrase, 'Regent of the Sun,' occurs III, 690.

708 ff.

In conclusion, Uriel informs Gabriel that Satan is undoub
a fallen angel escaped from hell, and during the bat
Heaven, takes an active part in the attack upon Satan a
legions:

> Uriel, once warned; whose eye pursued him down . . .
> Gabriel . . . One of the banished crew,
> I fear, hath ventured from the Deep . . .[16]
> On each wing / Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,
> Though huge and in a rock of diamond armed, / Vanquished . . .[17]

In the Book of Enoch, Uriel is the archangel who wa
over Tartarus, and in the initial Noachic fragment is one o
angels who ask of God that He punish Azazel and his assoc

> Uriel, one of the holy angels who is . . . over Tartarus . . . (Enoch
> neys through the Earth and Sheol) And Uriel said to me: Here shall sta
> angels who have connected themselves with women . . .[18]
>
> And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from
> . . . And they said to the Lord . . . Thou seest what Azâzêl hath do
> And Semjâzâ . . . and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to t
> regard to these (lawless deeds).[19]

Uriel also is one of the seven archangels who watch, and
four presences:

> (Charles: Names and Functions of the Seven Archangels) And th
> the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel . . . And then Michael
> Raphael, and Gabriel looked down . . . Then said the Most High .
> sent Uriel . . .[20]

Again, Uriel is the first named of the seven archangels
watch; he rules over the world and the luminaries, and it
who describes to Enoch the functions and motions o
heavenly bodies:

> Uriel, one of the [seven] holy angels, who is over the world . . .
> [Enoch] saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and . . . wrote down a
> outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number an

[16] IV, 125; 561 ff.

[17] VI, 362–365.

[18] xx, 2; xix, 1. In these and in all subsequent quotations from Enoch I use
translation.

[19] ix, 1 ff.

[20] xx, 1–2; ix, 1 ff., x, 1. Uriel is described as one of the four presences onl
Noah fragment. In the genuine Enoch he is replaced by Phanuel, as in xl, 9.

heir courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as holy angel who was with me showed me . . . The book of the courses minaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their heir dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places . . . which Uriel the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, ne; and he showed me all their laws exactly as they are . . . till the tion is accomplished which dureth till eternity . . . And he has power sun, moon, and stars.[21]

ough the conception or situation was not unique, and e expected in Paradise Lost, it is of some interest that in noch and the epic, Michael, Raphael and Gabriel are f the important angels who are commanded by God to and do attack their fallen peers:

> Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince,
> And thou, in military prowess next,
> Gabriel . . . Them with fire and hostile arms
> Fearless assault; and, to the brow of Heaven
> Pursuing, drive them out from God and bliss
> Into their place of punishment, the gulf
> of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
> His fiery chaos to receive their fall . . .[22]
> Raphael his vaunting foe . . . / Vanquished —
> Adramelech and Asmadai . . .[23]

gain the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast the darkness' . . . And to Gabriel said the Lord: 'Proceed against ards and the reprobates' . . . And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, njâzâ and his associates.'[24]
Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of at on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning [25]

ne pseudepigraph it is Raphael who describes to Enoch e of knowledge and informs him of the sin of his 'father' other' in eating of it. In Paradise Lost the same angel Adam against partaking of the fruit of the tree:

> [Raphael to Adam] but of the tree
> Which tasted works knowledge of good and evil
> Thou may'st not [eat].[26]

2; xxxiii, 2 ff.; lxxii, 1 ff.; lxxxii, 8. Uriel's astronomical revelation, The Book eavenly Luminaries, extends eleven chapters (lxxii–lxxxii), and opens with

44 ff.
363 ff.

[24] x, 4 ff.
[25] liv, 6.

[26] VII, 542–544.

Then I [Enoch] said: 'How beautiful is the tree' . . . Then Rapha holy angel . . . answered me and said: 'This is the tree of wisdom, of thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.' [27]

Nor is Raphael alone in performing in Enoch and Para Lost comparable functions both as a member of a group as an individual character. In Milton's epic, the angel Ga stands guard over the earthly Paradise, and Michael revea Adam directly and through vision the history of mankind the coming of the Messiah.[28] Prefatory to this revelation A is led to the top of a mountain, and on one occasion is so o whelmed that Michael becomes sole narrator. The Ga and Michael of the Book of Enoch appear on occasion in lar and roughly analogous rôles, and Enoch once faints in presence of Michael under the strain of his vision. More portant is the fact that the second dream-vision of Enoch scribes, to follow the caption of Charles, 'The History o World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom.' It is suggestive that both Paradise Lost and the Book of Enoch works in which angelic revelation and vision predomi Indeed, six of the twelve books of Paradise Lost, V–VIII, XII, consist primarily of the revelations of Raphael Michael, supplemented briefly by the visions of Adam. In invocation to VII Milton says to the Christian Urania ' Visit'st my slumbers nightly,' and in that of IX, write 'my Celestial Patronness, who deigns / Her nightly vi tion unimplored, / And dictates to me slumbering.' [29] The B of Enoch is in large measure composed of revelation or infor tion received directly from angels, and of visions.[30] Regardle

[27] xxxii, 5 ff.

[28] In the Divine Weekes of Du Bartas, which, as Professor George Coffin Tayl shown, Milton employed frequently in Paradise Lost (Milton's Use of Du B Cambridge, 1934, especially chapter IV), the dream vision is utilized in the final of the Handy-Crafts. As in Paradise Lost, the dreamer is Adam.

[29] VII, 28–29; IX, 21–23.

[30] The Book of Enoch and Paradise Lost close with what Charles describes former as 'A Book of Exhortation and promised Blessing for the Righteous and of diction and Woe for the Sinners' (xci–civ). The final chapter of Enoch (cv) is, following the caption of Charles, 'God and the Messiah to dwell with Man.'

estion of the relationship of Paradise Lost to the Book of
it is fundamental to exact criticism of the poem that
ognize the preponderance of angelic revelation and dream-
in the work. Such devices are not those of the Homeric

comparing the Michael correspondences among those
ng, it will be observed that the situations of the dream-
are disparate.

> Paradise . . . was a rock / Of alabaster . . .
> Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
> Chief of the angelic guards . . .[31]

> The Angel [Michael] leads him [Adam] up to
> a high hill; sets before him in vision what
> shall happen till the Flood.
> Of tears and sorrows a flood thee also drowned,
> And sunk thee as thy sons; till, gently reared
> By the Angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last . . .
> But I perceive thy mortal sight to fail . . .
> The Angel Michael continues, from the Flood,
> to relate what shall succeed; then, in the men-
> tion of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain who
> that Seed of the Woman shall be which was prom-
> ised Adam and Eve in the Fall; his incarnation,
> death, and resurrection, and ascension; the state
> of the Church till his second coming.[32]

el, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise . . .[33] And the Head
sat on the throne of His glory . . . And my loins gave way . . . And
on my face. And Michael sent another angel from among the holy
d he raised me up . . .[34]
nd I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.
nd the angel Michael seized me by my right hand,
nd lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
nd he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.
nd he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven . . .[35]
Dream-Vision on the Deluge . . . The Second Dream-Vision of
he History of the World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom
Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah. From the Death of Noah to
lus. Israel in the Desert . . . The New Jerusalem, the Conversion of

542 ff.
ument, XI; XI, 757 ff.; XII, 8–9; Argument, XII.
7.
2 ff. This a Book of Noah fragment.
2 ff.

the surviving Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, the M
Enoch awakes and weeps.[36]

Among the relatively unique evil angels of Paradise I
Azazel, the standard bearer of the Satanic host. M. Saur
linked this character with the Syncellus fragments,[37] b
Professor Fletcher remarks, 'it is extremely doubtful
Enoch fragment in Syncellos alone was the basis for M
having used Azazel as a Fallen Angel; it is even more do
if the passage formed the basis of the "standard-bearer" ic
In discussing Azazel, Professor Fletcher finds the idea tha
angel was important in a number of places, includin
Against Heresies of Irenaeus, which Milton cites in s
works,[39] the Hierozoicon of Samuel Bochart, London,
and De legibus Hebraeorum of John Spencer, Cantab
1685.[40] Without differing from the conclusions of Pro
Fletcher that Milton could have developed his concept
Azazel from patristic, rabbinical, or contemporary ide
may be said that the Azazel of the complete Enoch, who
ally is described as the leader of the fallen angels,[41]
appropriately 'claim as his right' the 'proud honour' of b
the 'mighty standard' of the Satanic host.[42]

In addition to standing in Paradise Lost as an angel of
importance, Azazel is one of a host that had been cast int
that was enchained, and was punished because it had fol
its leader in aspiring to Godhead.[43] As heathen gods and

[36] Chapters lxxxiii ff., Charles' captions.

[37] Op. cit., pp. 254 ff.

[38] Op. cit., p.

[39] Professor Fletcher quotes among others (p. 285), these suggestive lines:

> Marcus . . . / Ever by tricks . . . confirming the doctrines of error . .
> Which Satan, thy true father, enables thee still to accomplish,
> By means of Azazel, that fallen and yet mighty angel, —
> Thus making thee the precursor of his own impious actions.

[40] Op. cit., pp. 286 ff.

[41] Cf. x, 4, xiii, 1; lv, 3–lvi, 4; liv, 3 ff.

[42] Milton wrote in part (I, 531–534):

> [Satan] straight commands that, at the warlike sound
> Of trumphets loud and clarions, be upreared
> His mighty standard. That proud honour claimed
> Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall . . .

[43] I, 44 ff., and passim; V, 718 ff.

mbers of this band tempted and seduced the children of
In the Book of Enoch, Azazel and — or his host are cast
ll, are enchained, and are punished because 'they do as if
ere the Lord.' [45] Again, the Book of Enoch says of the
ngels that 'their spirits, assuming many different forms,
iling mankind.' [46] Among the single sources available to
discussed by Professor Fletcher, none describes an Aza-
o possesses the individual and 'group' characteristics of
ure in Paradise Lost. *Mutatis mutandis*, they are found
Azazel of I Enoch. Less outstanding than Azazel, but
important fallen angel of the pseudepigraph is the rela-
uncommon Ramiel.[47] In Paradise Lost, Ramiel is one
few warriors of the Satanic host whom Milton mentions
ne.[48] Professor Fletcher, whose reference I have been un-
o verify, finds in the Syncellus fragments the equally
l Ariel, who, with Arioch and Ramiel, was overthrown
liel.[49]

rding to our apocryphal book, the angels who lusted
ne daughters of men and begat giants, lived upon the
t of Mount Hermon. In Paradise Lost the 'Sons of God'
sted after the fair descendants of Cain came down from
gh . . . hills.' [50] The character Enoch of the pseudepi-

57 ff.

3 ff., and passim; lxviii, 4. [46] xix, 1. [47] vi, 7. [48] VI, 369 ff.

. Professor Fletcher states (op. cit., p. 272), . . . 'the form of Ariel from the rd chapter of Isaiah that we have considered above, occur[s] twice in the Book as a class of Angels. It should be noted that their occurrences fall within the of the work to be found in Syncellos. These are in the fourteenth and thirty-pters respectively.'

ton is to an appreciable degree drawing upon the conception that the sons of l upon the hills, but came down to, or were led down by, the daughters of I mention below Syncellus presents this conception both preceding and the initial Enoch fragment. What the poet appears to have done is to bring his idea and the Enoch tradition that the evil angels lusted after the daughters n Paradise Regained, II, 173 ff., Milton utilizes only the tradition:

> Belial . . . thou . . . doat'st on womankind, admiring
> Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace . . .
> Before the Flood, thou, with thy lusty crew,
> False titled Sons of God, roaming the Earth,
> Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
> And coupled with them, and begot a race.

graph reprimands the evil angels and their offspring, the
who had torn the world with strife and tumult. In th
Enoch censures the warring giants. Neither of these c
tions will be found in Genesis, nor does this book provi
basis for Milton's association of Enoch with the giant
embroiled the world, or for the relatively extended spa
voted to this character.[51] It likewise is of some interes
prior to the seduction of the daughters of men, and, in
mankind, the evil angels of the Book of Enoch meet as a
and pledge support to their leader's plan. With Milto
successful attempt of Satan to seduce Eve, and mank
preceded by a council wherein the fallen angels pledge adh
to the plot of Lucifer.

> After these . . . a different sort
> From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat,
> Down to the plain descended . . . from the tents behold
> A bevy of fair women, richly gay . . .
> The men, though grave, eyed them, and let their eyes
> Rove without rein . . . that fair female troop . . .
> Bred only and completed to the taste
> Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance . . .
> To these that sober race of men, whose lives
> Religious titled them the Sons of God,
> Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame . . .[52]
>
> [Adam's third vision] He looked, and saw . . .
> Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise . . .
> On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds . . .
> Grey-headed men and grave, with warriors mixed,
> Assemble, and harangues are heard . . . at last . . .
> one rising . . . spake much of right and wrong,
> Of justice, of religion, truth, and peace,
> And judgment from above . . .
> To whom thus Michael: These are the product
> Of those ill-mated marriages thou saw'st,
> Where good with bad were matched; who . . .
> Produce prodigious births of body or mind.
> Such were these Giants . . .[53]

The similarity between the 'false titled Sons of God' of this passage and th
them the Sons of God,' of Paradise Lost, XI, 622, is apparent.

[51] Enoch is mentioned XI, 664 ff., and 700 ff., and occupies an important p
passage seventy-three lines in length (638–710).

[52] XI, 573 ff.

[53] XI, 638 ff.

[The] summons read, the great consult began . . .
There is a place . . . another World, the happy seat
Of some new race, called Man . . . let us . . . learn . . .
Their weakness: how attempted best . . . Beëlzebub
Pleaded his devilish counsel — first devised
By Satan, and in part proposed . . . The bold design
Pleased highly those Infernal States . . . with full assent
They vote . . .[54]

came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those
e born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels
and lusted after them . . . And they were in all two hundred; who
d in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon . . . And
unto themselves wives, and they taught them charms and enchant-
. and the beautifying of the eyelids . . .[55] And the women also of the
no went astray shall become sirens.[56]
isions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of chastisement, and a
ding me to tell it to the sons of heaven, [the fallen angels] and repri-
em . . . And I recounted to them all the visions . . . and began to
words of righteousness, and to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.[57]
[Enoch] say to the Watchers . . . Wherefore have ye left the high,
eternal heaven . . . and begotten giants . . . And the spirits of the
lict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the
[58]
ne angels . . . said to one another: Come, let us choose us wives . . .
jâzâ, who was their leader, said . . . I fear ye will not indeed agree to
eed . . . Then sware they all together and bound themselves by mu-
ecations upon it [this plan].[59]

idea that hell is located outside the earth rather than
t was of course a commonplace, and Milton himself de-
the conception with Scriptural citation.[60] So far as I
served however, it was not a commonplace, to regard
ocated within a chaos beyond heaven and earth. Such a
common to both Paradise Lost and the true Enoch.[61]

8 (final line); II, 345 ff.
ff.
.
8 ff.
ff.
ff.
Christian Doctrine, I, xxxiii.
ay be mentioned that in the Book of Enoch (xxii) and Paradise Lost (III,
spirits of deceased men are confined in a place separate and distinct from the
he fallen angels. In Enoch this Sheol or Hades is located in the far west,
beyond the world, and contains divisions for the righteous, the wicked who
net with retribution during life, and the wicked who have. Milton places his

As far removed from God and light of Heaven
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole . . .[62]
Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend [Satan]
Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while,
. . . neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
But all these in their pregnant causes mixed
Confusedly, and which thus must ever fight . . .
Here . . . begins . . . Chaos to retire . . .
Far off the empyreal Heaven . . .
And, fast by . . . / This pendent World . . .[63]
A dungeon horrible . . . a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed.
Such place Eternal Justice had prepared
For those rebellious; here their prison ordained . . .[64]
The gulf / Of Tartarus . . . / His fiery chaos . . .[64a]

I saw at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven abov
proceeded . . . And I saw a deep abyss . . . And beyond that abys
place which had no firmament of the heaven above, and no firmly
earth beneath it . . . this has become a prison for the stars and th
heaven . . .[65]

And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there s
horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, b
chaotic and horrible . . . And from thence I went to another place
horrible than the former . . . a great fire there which burnt and b
This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be impri
ever.[66]

The question of Milton's partial or extended acqua
with the 'complete' Book of Enoch, and the question of
or minor portion being known to scholars of the day, ob
is intimately connected with the question of whether or

---

somewhat comparable Hades on the outside shell of the mundane universe. I
lated only by the unrighteous, some of whom are segregated in 'a Limbo
broad, since called the Paradise of Fools.' We also may compare the Book o
description (G[g] xxii, 11), 'Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pa
that (there may be) retribution for their spirits,' with Milton's more detailed
(III, 442 ff.):

Other creature in this place . . . was none;
None yet; but store hereafter from the Earth . . . when sin
With vanity had filled the works of men —
. . . here find / Fit retribution . . .

[62] I, 73–74.
[63] II, 912 ff. Lines 3–5 of this quotation precede lines 1–2.
[64] I, 61 ff.
[64a] VI, 53–55. [65] xviii, 5 ff. [66] xxi, 1 ff.

miliar with the Syncellus fragments, either in the Paris of 1652, or in some other form. In these fragments we e description of Uriel as one of four angels who watch one of those who opposed the violence occasioned by allen peers. Raphael is ordered to bind Azazel, and l to take similar steps with Semjaza and his associates. is both one of the fallen angels and a character specifi- ngled out for punishment. Ramiel, and, according to or Fletcher, Ariel, are named among the fallen. The us fragments also contain the conceptions of a council ng the seduction of women and mankind, and of the evil coming down from a high hill.

her evidence of use of Syncellus comes from two passages Chronographia, the latter of which may represent a muti- agment from I Enoch. The first apparently has no con- with the book. In Paradise Lost, Milton describes the ace of men from the hills whose lives had entitled them alled 'Sons of God' as coming down to the plain and eing enamoured of women later identified as the daugh- Cain. The women first attract the men by music. In us, shortly after the conclusion of the first Enoch frag- somewhat comparable situation is set forth, one differ- ing that the women are the aggressors. The important s that they employ musical instruments as a means of ion.'

> From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat
> Down to the plain descended: by their guise
> Just men they seemed . . . They on the plain
> Long had not walked when from the tents behold
> A bevy of fair women, richly gay
> In gems and wanton dress! to the harp they sung
> Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on . . .
> [Of] his race / Who slew his brother . . .
> To these . . . the Sons of God . . . now swim in joy
> (Erelong to swim at large) . . .[67]

ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ χθαμαλοὶ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ διὰ τὴν κατάραν Κάϊν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ ντες καὶ ὡς ἄγγελοι θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ὑψηλῇ χώρᾳ· ἐλθοῦσαι δὲ αἱ θυγα- Κάϊν διὰ μουσικῶν αὐλῶν καὶ κινυρῶν κατήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς

575 ff.

χώρας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσχον αὐτάς, καὶ πληθυνθείσης τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν γέ
κατακλυσμός.[68]

The second partial correspondence from the Chronogr
may well be a mutilated fragment of such a passage as t
Enoch, lxxxii, 7: 'For the luminaries, and months and fest
and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to r

[68] Georgius Syncellus . . . ex recensione Guilielmi Dindorfii, Bonnae, 1829
Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae), I, 26. In Goar's Latin version, the text
follows: Erat autem omnis illa Cain progenies ob traductum cum sanguine
maledictum corporis mole brevior ac depressa forma, ex adverso vero filii Se
proceri Gigantes, et angeli dei, in excelsa morabantur regione. Porro filiae Cai
profectae musicis tibiis, et cinyris illectos felici loco et excelsa regione deorsum
nupseruntque illis, crescenteque eorum nequitia factum est diluvium. In a
amplification of Genesis 6, 1 ff., which occurs immediately preceding the Eno
ment in question (ibid., I, 19), two hundred sons of the house of Seth descen
wives, and as in Paradise Lost (XI, 683 ff.) produce giants: . . . αὐτοῦ δὲ
ἑπτακοσιοστοῦ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ, πλανηθέντες κατέβησαν καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκα
θυγατέρων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγέννησαν τοὺς γίγαντας τοὺς ὀνομαστους, ὥς
γραφή. (In Latin: . . . ipsius Seth septingentesimo septuagesimo, ducenti ex eiu
egregori seducti descenderunt, et ex filiabus hominum sibi delegerunt uxores, no
simosque illos, de quibus scriptura [loquitur], procrearunt Gigantes:)—

Although in the final passages of his Handy-Crafts Du Bartas does not, as d
and the Book of Enoch, connect the character Enoch with the violence which f
the marriage of angels and the 'Sons of God,' it is worthy of mention that a glor
of Enoch thirty lines in length is followed by a brief description of the union betw
houses of Seth and Cain, of the violence occasioned by the issue from this union
the flood:

> Thy pupil Henoch, selfly-dying wholly,
> (Earths ornament) to God he liveth solely . . .
> Adieu, dear Henoch . . . / Dwell there with God . . .
> O strange to be beleev'd! the blessed Race . . .
> Do follow sin, most beastly-brute and tame-less,
> With lustfull eys choosing for wanton Spouses . . .
> Mingling so the houses / Of Seth and Cain; preferring
> Foolishly / Frail beauties blaze to vertuous modesty.
> From these profane, foul, cursed kisses sprung
> A cruell brood, feeding on blood and wrong,
> Fell Gyants strange . . . / Plagues of the World . . .
> Then, righteous God . . . resolves the Fall . . .
> Heav'ns crystall windows with one hand he opes . . .

The passages from Du Bartas, whose connection with Paradise Lost h
pointed out by Professor George Coffin Taylor (Milton's Use of Du Bartas, Cam
1934, pp. 115 ff.), the Enoch fragments of Syncellus, the two passages immediat
ceding and following the first of these fragments, and the pertinent verses cite
from the 'extra-Syncellus Enoch,' contain the material essential to Paradise L
573–710.

the Lord of the whole creation of the world has subjected
ost of heaven.'

e passage in Syncellus runs thus: . . . ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρων ἀρχάγ-
)ὐριὴλ ἐμήνυσε τῷ Ἐνὼχ τί ἐστι μὴν καὶ τροπὴ καὶ ἐνιαυτός . . .[69]

view of the fact that M. Saurat and Professor Fletcher
Milton's use of the Chronographia without reference to
the correspondences cited immediately above or a
er of the remaining similarities which have been dis-
l, it appears a conservative conclusion that the poet drew
the Byzantine historian. Milton's utilization of Syncellus
es materially the evidence of indebtedness to other and
complete versions of I Enoch, but it doubtless would have
ated his interest in such versions, and, what is more
tant, leaves untouched the larger portion of the corre-
ences. In what may not inaccurately be called the true
, the archangel Uriel is one of seven watchers or presences,
n addition stands guard over Tartarus or hell. He de-
s in detail celestial motions, as does the Uriel of Paradise
and says of the moon: 'During all the period during which
oon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to her-
. . And on the first day she is called the new moon. . . .
ecomes the full moon . . . again she wanes till all the light
es and . . . her circumference is empty, void of light.'[70]
years after the telescope the Uriel of Milton informed
:

> [The moon] Still ending, still renewing . . .
> With borrowed light her countenance triform
> Hence *fills and empties* . . . [my italics][71]

en God commanded that the fallen angels be cast into
He called upon Michael and Gabriel, in this order, to do
It is Raphael who informs Enoch of the sin of Adam and
eating of the fruit of the tree. Gabriel is the particular

d., I, 60. (Goar's translation: . . . quid mensis, quid solis conversio, quid
. archangelus Uriel astris praepositus Enocho revelavit.) This fragment, if it
called a fragment, is not mentioned by W. O. Oesterley in the latest edition of
of Enoch (London, 1935), or by Charles in the Oxford edition of 1912, although
e the 'additional fragment' which he does not identify.
viii, 11–15.
, 729–731.

angel set over the garden of Eden. Enoch faints, as does A while seeing a vision in the presence of Michael, and, to er Milton's words, is 'reared / By the Angel.' He reprimanc fallen angels and those who had brought violence upon an act quite comparable to the reprimanding of the by the Enoch of Paradise Lost. It is, in addition, only 'true' Book of Enoch that hell is described as beyond h and earth in chaos, and in the complete book that Azazel is all the individual and 'group' characteristics which he pos in the epic. The true Enoch is primarily a book of a revelations and visions, and although the point has been looked by Milton criticism, virtually half of Paradise Los sists of vision and angelic revelation. It may also be menti purely as coincidence, that in the complete work the emphasis of the first third is upon the fallen angels and hel that the final portion includes admonition, and historica Messianic visions. The character Enoch moves over down to hell, and up to heaven, and as a cosmic traveller pares not unfavourably with the poet of Paradise Lost.[72]

Without pausing to summarize the evidence which has reviewed, it may be said that Milton utilized the Chronogr in various portions of the epic, and that his indebtedness t work is more extended than we have supposed. The poet of the Syncellus fragments, together with what may be te the *rapport* between the Book of Enoch and Paradise Los dicates that such information as was before him in Purcha probably in Sandys and Heylyn would have led to some in concerning the book. Under these conditions his use of th parently unique and many-sided Uriel of the complete E one of the seven presences, and the character who descri moon which *empties* itself of light, suggests that some Syncellus material may have reached him. This possibil strengthened by the employment of the remaining concep whose counterparts appear in the pseudepigraph. It

[72] The important contemporary influences which in large measure explain M interest in space and in flight are discussed in detail by Professor Marjorie Nic Milton and the Telescope, ELH, II (1935), 19 ff., and in the forthcoming, The T Flight in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

robable that Milton and other interested scholars of the enteenth century knew more of the Book of Enoch ight be obtained from the often slender fragments of estament, patristic, and rabbinical writers, together e passages preserved in Syncellus. I suggest this inter- n as a working hypothesis.

"THE WAY OF ALL FLESH"

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aper is not, as the title would seem to imply, a discussion
er's famous novel, nor does it attempt to answer the ques-
here Butler found the phrase. It may well be doubted
whether the novelist himself could have given us an
eference to his source, since the phrase, as a euphemism
dread word "death," is one of those winged utterances
come into one's mind without a definite perception
or how or when. English literature at least seems to
comparatively few examples of its use[1] and the writers
employ it, if we except Dickens who, in one of the stories
ches by Boz,[2] makes Mr. Parsons remark that his wife's
"allowed us something to live on till he went the way of
n," are not such as are commonly read. Moreover it is
hat the phrase was generally familiar before the date of its
appearance in our literature. This was in the year 1607,
olay Westward Ho, by Dekker and Webster, II, 2, where
the characters remarks, "I saw him even now going the
all flesh, that's to say, towards the kitchen." This re-
would have been without point, had the phrase not been
mon use with a more serious connotation.

ough there seems to be no example of such use previous
in English literature, there are examples in Latin docu-
of England which show that at an early period the ex-
n, "to go the way of all flesh," had taken on a formal
ter. Thus in the preamble to wills executed at York dur-
14th century,[3] these formulae are found: *quod viam uni-
arnis confestim migrare intendo; sciens me viam universae
ingressurum; metuens me tamen viam universae carnis
urum.* Still earlier, during the 11th–13th centuries, this

he examples given in the Oxford Dictionary, s. v. Way, p. 201, col. 1, C.
Watkins Tottle, p. 451 (Harper and Brothers, N. Y.).
amenta Eborancensia, Surtees Society (London, 1836), Pt. I, pp. 146, 174, 219.

second form, sometimes with a variant in the verb, appea Chronicles and Lives as a synonym for the more usual *mo est, obiit, e seculo migravit*, etc.; thus, in the Chronicon Mo terii de Abingdon,[4] I, p. 2: *rege Lucio viam universae carni gresso*; ib. p. 18; p. 59; p. 88; Gesta Abbatum Monast. S. Al I, p. 25;[5] Walter Map, de Nugis Curialium, IV, 3: *die qua universae carnis ingressus est.* The earliest example[6] from British sources which I have found is that cited by the au of the article in the Oxford Dictionary, l. c., from a chart King Eadward the Elder of the year 900:[7] *quando Aelfre obiit . . . quando Aelfred rex viam universae carnis adiit.*[8] It be noted, however, that the text is not derived from a temporary MS but from a cartulary of the 12th century that there is the possibility at least that the phrase *viam versae carnis adiit* may have been injected into an earlier of the text. I may add that there is no trace of the verna

[4] Ed. Stevenson, Rolls Series (London, 1858). The MSS of this Chronicle da the 13th century, but the form of expression may be older.

[5] ed. Riley, Rolls Ser. (London, 1867).

[6] This example is not included in J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson, Mediaeval Word List (Oxford Univ. Press, 1934) s. v. Via, p. 454. They note occurrences phrase in the 11th and 13th centuries and in 1461.

[7] Printed in B. Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici (London, p. 144; Birch, Cartul. Sax. (London, 1887), II, 241.

[8] Here the choice of the verb *adire*, instead of the usual *ingredi*, may have be to the desire of securing a rime with the preceding *obiit*. We find *adire*, howeve curious phrase which occurs several times in Asser, de Rebus Gestis Aelfre Stevenson (Oxford, 1904): *viam universitatis adiit* (or *adiens*); cf. ch. 19, 28, 33, Since the original MS of Asser's work was destroyed by fire in 1731, we are depe for its readings upon secondary sources which are not altogether trustworth Stevenson, Introduction, pp. xiii sq., xlvi sq. One of these is the Chronicle of Fl of Worcester, d. 1118, who incorporated Asser's history into his Chronicle. The re of the MSS of Florence agree with Asser in the passages cited except in ch. 85, unc year 887, where the MSS have: *Carolus Francorum rex viam universae carnis adiit* editors of Florence in the Monumenta Historica Brittanica (London, 1848), changed this to *viam universitatis adiit*. It may be noted also that in the Chr Fani Sancti Neoti, ed. by Stevenson as an Appendix to his Asser, under the ye (p. 142), Aelfred's death is recorded with the words, *viam universitatis adiit*. In v my inability to find earlier examples of this phrase and of the presence of *un carnis* in the Charter cited above, referring to the same event, I am inclined to that *universitatis* arose from a scribal error. A similar phrase occurs in Sim Durham, de Gestis Regum Anglorum (yr. 884): *praesul Marius universitatis arripuit.*

[9] Brit. Mus., Add. 15, 350 f, 69b; cf. Birch, l. c., II, p. 242; ib., I, p. xiii.

f the Latin formulae in the Old English and Middle
rose writers.[10]

in documents of countries[11] other than England also
ie phrase used in a similar way, although the examples
s far as I have yet discovered, go back beyond the
ury and occur chiefly in lives of the Saints. Here the
ay be used, as it is in the Chronicles, merely to record
s death; thus, in the life of S. Vophelm (d. 1091),
y a contemporary (A. S. Apr. 22, III, p. 88[12]), *viam*
carnis ingressus obiit; in the life of S. Hugo (d. 926),
the 11th century (A. S. Apr. 20, III, p. 761), *quasi in*
itineris universae carnis constitutus decessum suae mor-
raestolabatur; in the life of B. Quetta (d. 1227), written
emporary (A. S. Jan. 13, II, p. 147), *viro suo . . . viam*
carnis ingresso; in late versions of the life of S. Fursey
n. 16, II, p. 416), *praenuntiante sibi angelo viam uni-*
nis ingreditur.[13] Or the phrase may, as in the case of
wills quoted above, be put in the mouth of a man who,
proaches his end, utters words of farewell. Although
rewell address is a characteristic feature of the Saints'
is again not until the 11th century that our formula
appear, usually in the form, *ego viam universae carnis*

S. Cook, Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers, Ser. I (Mac-
, 1898); Ser. II, (Yale Bicentennial Publications) (Scribner's Sons, N. Y.,
W. Smyth, Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1350,
in English XLI, (Holt, N. Y., 1911).

nge, s. v. *via*, remarks: *viam universae carnis ingredi: mori; modus loquendi*
Sacris et Ecclesiasticis familiaris. The one example which he quotes (Bar-
nnales Genuen., ap. Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. VI, 440) is from the year
rst part of this statement is, I think, a mistake, cf. below, and the second
or writers from the 11th century onwards. No examples, I may note, are
aldi, Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi inde ab anno CDLXXVI usque ad
con Imperfectum, Arch. Lat. Med. Aevi, X, 1935.

rom the Acta Sanctorum, Editio Novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet,

be noted that Bede, in his account of the death of Fursey, Hist. Eccl., III,
rent phrases: *diem clausit ultimum* and *de hac luce egressus*. Nor does he
his writings employ our phrase.

Gregory of Tours, Liber Vitae Patrum (ed. Krusch, M. G. H., Scr. Rer.
xiii, 2; Vita S. Arnulfi (ed. Krusch, ib. p. 442); Vita S. Carilefi, in Migne,
0; Eadmer's Life of S. Wilfred, A. S., Apr. 24, III, p. 313; similarly in lives
ints, cf. Flores, España Sagrada, XIII, p. 342.

ingressurus (*ingredior*); cf. Notger, Vita S. Hadalini, P. 1147; id. Vita S. Remacli, ib. 139, 1166; Thangmar o sheim, Vita S. Bernwardi, P. L., 140, 432; with a shif word order, Geraldus, Vita S. Adalardi,[15] P. L., 147 *datum est mihi ingredi vias carnis universae*; cf. furthe 147, 14; A.S., Apr. 14, II, p. 249; p. 469. An interesting e illustrating the replacement of earlier formulae, is fu by the MS tradition of the Life of S. Ricarius, wri Alcuin, who used an earlier life written by a contemp the Saint. According to the text in P. L. 101, 681–694, R realizing that his end was near, called his associates t and gave them directions for the disposal of his body: *ingredior viam universae carnis.* This reading occurs, h only in a Brussels MS of the 12th century, whereas earl have, *vado viam totius mundi*, the reading given by K his edition of the Life, M. G. H., Scr. Rer. Mer., IV, p

This use of our phrase, with the verb in the first pers part of the farewell address of a dying man, is exac which occurs in what is undoubtedly the original sour which the formula was derived, the two biblical verses, J 14 and III Kings 2, 2. In the first Joshua addresses his in the second, David addresses Solomon, with the wo *ingredior viam universae terrae.* There is no trace of any in these verses, as far as I can discover, either in the text, which gives Arĕṣ, or in the Greek, which has for passage, ἀποτρέχω τὴν ὁδὸν καθὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς second, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ πορεύομαι ἐν ὁδῷ πασῆς τῆς γῆς. Nor ca any evidence for the reading *carnis* instead of *terrae* in the Latin MSS of the Old Testament earlier than the c in the authors quoted above. The Versio Antiqua, ac to Sabatier,[16] had for the verse in Joshua a close transl the Greek, *ego autem recurro viam sicut et omnes qui super* for the passage in Kings, *ego ingredior viam universae ter*

[15] This life is a reworking of an older life by Radbert; cf. Manitius, Ge lat. Liter. des Mittelalters, II, 465–468.

[16] Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae (Paris, 1751), I, 425. F references from the Fathers except S. Aug. Quaest. in Hept., vi, 24 (P. L., 34 approves Jerome's *ingredior* for the *recurro* of earlier versions, and none o writers whom I have read quotes these verses.

ıts are given by Billen, in his study of the Old Latin the Heptateuch.[17] The Vulgate reading for both pas- *ego ingredior viam universae terrae.* No hint of the read- *s* is given by Tischendorf in his edition, Leipzig, 1873, y of the editors or commentators whose work I have e to consult. The Vulgate reading *terrae* occurs also in *sale Mixtum* (P. L. 85, 384), where III Kings 2, 2, is the Lectio appointed for the VI *Fer. ante Remis Pal-*

nly manuscript evidence indeed for the reading *carnis* of *terrae* is, as far as my knowledge goes, that cited by ne, Variae lectiones vulgatae latinae Bibliorum editi- his note on Josh. 23, 14 (he cites no variants for the III Kings 2, 2), II, p. 75, where he gives the reading om Vatican MS 4216, of the 13th century, called by *ingredior viam universae carnis.* Although this MS is group[19] which according to Vercellone, whose opinion l by Berger, preserves the tradition of the churches of aly, especially of the province of Milan, and shows hip with the text of Theodulfus, none of the other Vercellone's group, the earliest of which (F) he dates e 10th century,[20] has any trace of the reading *carnis.* ortance of the reading in V lies in the additional evi- affords of the presence, attested by the citation given om the Chronicle of Bartholomaeus of Genoa, of our in north Italy in the 13th century. The substitution of r *terrae,* whenever it was first made, was due, I would

, Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch (Cambridge, 1927). The reading of 4 in the codex Lugdunensis, ed. V. Robert, Pars Prior (Lyon, 1900), p. 101, *excedo vitam sicut omnes qui sunt super terram.* I owe this reference to the my friend, Mr. Bernard Peebles, who has generously given me the benefit of wledge in the fields of the liturgy and palaeography. I owe to him also the n the Gutenberg Bible, given below, which was kindly sent to him by W. J. ne Library of Congress.

e, 1860–64.

is group of MSS, cf. also, S. Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate (Paris, 1893), , and D. Quentin, Mémoire sur l'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate, ea Biblica Latina, VI (Rome-Paris, 1922), p. 361.

entin does not agree with Berger that this "Italian Group" is Spanish in ven rejects the north Italian provenance; cf. op. cit. pp. 380–384. He also Vercellone's date for F is too early and suggests (p. 377), saec. XI/XII.

suggest, to a confusion with Gen. 6, 13: *Deus dixit ad N universae carnis venit coram me.*

The question whether this variant found a place in any printed editions of the Vulgate, I cannot answer with co assurance, although it does not appear in such as I hav able to consult. Vercellone cites no variant from the edi 1462, 1471, 1476, 1528 (the first edition of Stephanus) Gutenberg Bible of 1456 agrees with the traditional Vul its readings in both Joshua and III Kings.[21]

In the earliest German translation of the Vulgate,[22] ho that of 1466, although the rendering of Josh. 23, 14 follo Vulgate, heut ge ich in den weg aller der welt, that Kings 2, 2 demands *carnis* for *terrae*: sieh ich gee in d alles fleysches. Then in an English version of the Bible was published in France in 1609 by Catholic refugee England, the so-called Douay Bible,[23] the rendering of th in both Joshua and Kings is, "I enter into the way of all f The suggestion made by the author of the article in the Dictionary, cited above, p. 42, "that the substitution of for *terrae* must have found its way into printed copies Vulgate," finds support, he thinks, from the fact tha Plantin Concordance (1642) reads *carnis* s. vv. *caro* a *gredior*, though elsewhere the passages are cited with the r

[21] This citation (cf. above, p. 45, n. 17) is drawn from the 1913, Berli facsimile edition of the Berlin copy of the 42-line Gutenberg Bible.

[22] Cf. Die Erste Deutsche Bibel von 1466, hrg. von W. Kurrelmeyer, in B des litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart; 4 vols. (Tubigen, 1904–1913). For a d of the book, cf. W. Walther, Die Deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalter schweig, 1889), 1–118; Fr. Schulze, Deutsche Bibeln vom ältesten Bibeldruc Lutherbibel, (Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1934). I may note that translation follows the Vulgate: Josh. 23, 14: Sihe ich gehe heute dahin wie I (= III) Kings, 2, 2: Ich gehe hin den weg aller welt; cf. Luther's Bible, durch Hans Lufft, 1534, facsimile edition, (Berlin, 1935).

[23] On the history of this Bible, cf. Hugh Pope, "The Origin of the Douay Dublin Review, 147 (1910), pp. 97–118.

[24] Mr. Peebles notes that the reading of the 1635 edition (Rouen, John Co a copy of which is in the Harvard Library, follows that of the 1609 edition. editions, however, the rendering conforms with the Vulgate in one (or both?) Thus in the three copies accessible to me here at the University of Minnesota Edinburgh, 1805, of London, 1914, and of Baltimore, 1914, the rendering o is "the way of all the earth," but of III Kings, "the way of all flesh."

[25] This explanation may be the correct one, but it
account for the presence of "fleysches" in the first
translation of 1466. This fact points rather to the
e of the variant in some MS of the Vulgate or else,
ɔility which is not to be excluded, I think, even for
ɛers of the Douay Bible, the phrase had by this time
so well known that a translation was made perhaps un-
ɪsly of it rather than of the Vulgate text. However
y be, even if some printed text of the Vulgate made
ase, containing *carnis* for *terrae*, accessible in the 17th
to the English dramatists, to the authors of the Douay
nd to the compilers of Plantin's Concordance, its earlier
nce both in England and on the Continent still has to
ined.

e to the explanation is to be found, I believe, in certain
ich have come to light from an investigation, the re-
which I hope soon to publish, into the sources of certain
quotations, appearing in Walter Map and other writers
aeval England. Since for the peculiar form which these
ɔns, among them the phrase under discussion, often
in writers working independently of each other, I was
ɛo find any support in the textual tradition of the Bible
or of the Lectionaries, it seemed to me that they may
en drawn, not from any special type of biblical text, as
en been assumed, but from some other source. This
I concluded, may have been the Liturgy of the Church,
ice books, including lectionaries, and prayers, which
ɛainly as familiar, even more familiar, to any mediaeval
s the Bible itself. For in these books, especially in the
and responses, biblical phraseology rather than direct
ɔn is the rule and words and sentences drawn, as in this

ɔy of this edition of the Concordance is in The Typefounders Library, Co-
ɔrary. The title page reads: Sacrorum Bibliorum Vulgatae Editionis con-
. . . Emendatae primum a Francisco Luca . . . Ex Officina Plantiniana
Moreti. M.DC.XLII. The pertinent references were kindly copied for me
ian Foster, Librarian of Oberlin College Library; Josh. 23, 14: *ingredior viam*
e; III Kings, 2, 2: *ego ingredior viā uni. car.* On the Plantin Concordance,
ɾinting of which was at Antwerp in 1572, cf. Schaff-Herzog, Religious En-
a, III, 207.

case, from different chapters and books of the Bible are fused together to form a new whole.[26]

To the liturgies, therefore, I turned my attention and of them, the very one, too, which was most widely know used in mediaeval England, the Use of Salisbury, I fou phrase. Here, in the Manuale ad Usum Insignis Ec Sarum,[27] under the rubric, Ordo ad Visitandum Infirmu priest, before anointing the sick man, addresses him with words: *Frater charissime, gratias age omnipotenti Deo p versis beneficiis suis, patienter et benigne suscipiens infirm corporis quam tibi Deus immisit; nam si ipsam humilit murmure toleraveris, infert animae tuae maximum praem salutem et, frater carissime, quia viam universae carnis ingre es, esto firmus in fide.* Again, later on in the same service exhortation to the confession of sins, the priest says (Hen p. 47), *resume ab initio et confitere quoniam in proximo viam universae carnis ingressurus sis.* Since it seems agreed that the services of Salisbury were at least partl fied during the latter part of the 12th century,[28] although not know that the Manuale was formed then, and must fore have included material in use during an earlier peri presence of the phrase in this office of the visitation of t would account for its currency in England from the 11t tury on. The conclusion that this liturgy, or a liturgy, source is supported by the order of words in the phrase,

[26] On the subject of "*Centonisation*" in the liturgies, cf. Cabrol, in Dic d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de la liturgie, publié par Dom F. Cabrol et Do clercq, s.v. Mozarabe (La Liturgie), XII, 484.

[27] Ed. Henderson, as an Appendix to his Manuale ad Usum Insignis Ecc censis, Surtees Society (London, 1874), p. 45; also in Palmer, Origines Liturgi don, 1845), II, p. 226; Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Eccl. Anglicae (Londo I, p. 74; cf. Brightman, The English Rite (London 2nd ed., 1921), II, p. 824 and Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1932) n. 2.

[28] Richard le Poer, Dean from 1173 to 1215 was certainly instrumental in c the liturgy; cf. Brightman, op. cit., I, xvii; Procter and Frere, op. cit., p. 15. A to Bishop, Liturgica Historica (Oxford, 1918), p. 300, n., the Sarum Missal, nothing of the Manuale), is a 13th century compilation. His query, whet Edmund of Canterbury (of Abingdon, that is) did not have a hand in it," is in in view of the presence of our formula in the Manuale and in the Chronicle don, cited above, p. 42.

iturgical and secular documents, regularly has the verb
t the end in contrast with its initial position in the
in Joshua and Kings.

ier this prayer in the office of the visitation of the sick
piled[29] and in use early enough to have furnished the
f the Charter of 900 his *viam universae carnis,* if the
riginally had a place there (cf. above, p. 42), cannot be
ed with certainty, since we know too little of the litur-
ngland at that period. Certainly it seems unlikely that
of Salisbury could have been responsible for the ap-
of the phrase during the 11th century in all parts of
[30] The alternative, since it does not occur in the re-
earlier English and Irish liturgies, is to assume that it
o English ritual from one of the continental forms
e know, furnished most of the material to the English
ooks. This assumption is supported by the fact that
se does occur in a form of worship which, by some
t altogether clear, did influence early Irish and English
is form is that of the Visigothic church in Spain, the
Mozarabic rite, which was current in the church of
m the establishment of Christianity down to the last
he 11th century, when it was suppressed[32] in favor of
ore acceptable to the Roman church.[33] Among the
the Visigothic mass and offices which have come down
ne which, preserved in MSS of the 11th century, has
Liber Ordinum.[34] It contains in the first part (Ferotin,

SS of the Manuale are not safe guides in this matter, since none are earlier
IV; cf. Chr. Wordsworth and H. L. Littlehales, The Old Service-books
sh Church (London, 1904), pp. 213–217 and the Index under *Manuale.*
however, the important place held by the old Sarum Use not only in Eng-
the Continent; cf. Chr. Wordsworth, Ceremonies and Processions of the
hurch of Salisbury (Cambridge, 1901), Preface, p. vii.
shop, "Liturgical Note," in The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop,
called The Book of Cerne, ed. Dom A. B. Kuypers (Cambridge Univ.
, pp. 277 ff.; id. Liturgica Historica, pp. 165 ff.; Dom Gougard, Dict.
e, s.v. Celtiques, II, 2, col. 2992; Dom Cabrol. ib. s.v. Mozarabe, XII, coll.

ct accounts no doubt for the absence of our formula from Latin documents

brol, op. cit., 393 ff.
m Ferotin, in Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, vol. V (Paris, 1904). For

1–224) rites for the administration of various sacr among them the rite at the time of death of one of the fra Here under the rubric in MS B(Ferotin, 107), *Ordo hominis dici* (*Dei?* so Cabrol), or, as given in MS A(126), *Ordo ad Commendandum Corpus Defuncti, cum fuerit anima e corpore*, those present, are directed to response, *ecce ego viam universae carnis ingressurus dormiam cum patribus meis et amplius iam non ero.* This of the ritual, "une bonne partie du long et magnifiq monial de la sépulture," D. Ferotin (p. xxi), although not specifically mention our phrase, is inclined to ascrib second half of the 7th century. This is the view als without specific mention of our formula, of D. Cabrol, pp. 393–4 and p. 465, and D. Prado, op. cit., p. 24. Mr. however, in a comparison of the burial services, inclu prayers for the departing soul, in sacramentaries of century,[35] remarks that the service in the Liber O coll. 107–149, thus embracing the passage (col. 110) co our formula, which unfortunately he does not bring discussion, "is of too late a date to call for mention he would assign the service, therefore, to the 9th century although it cannot be later, since it is contained in date than the middle of the 11th century. In the face of t agreement among authorities as to the date of this serv who is not an expert in liturgical matters is not in a pos express an opinion. In view, however, of the absence formula from all the service books, both in their earlies their fully developed forms,[36] except the Liber Ordinum

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a discussion of the nature of the book, date, MSS, etc., cf. pp. xvi ff.; Cabr 428 ff.; P. Germán Prado, Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledana (Abadía Domingo de Silos) (Burgos, 1928), pp. 24 ff. Of the two chief MSS one, M from 1039, the other, B, from 1052, as we learn from the signatures, Ferotin and xxviii.

[35] Liturgica Historica, 182–192.

[36] One cannot be sure about such matters as these, but I have failed t phrase in any of the important printed liturgies, including those of Irel Germany, and Italy, except the two mentioned. In view of Duchesne's opi du Culte chrét., 3rd ed. p. 86, that the Ambrosian and Visigothic liturgies be same family, and in view of the appearance of the phrase in Latin documen Italy, I expected to find it in the books of Milan, but it does not oc

le of Salisbury, in view also of the recognized influence,
as the 8th century, of the Visigothic rites upon all types
continental as well as English and Irish liturgy,[37] it
air to conclude that "the way of all flesh" had its origin
Visigothic service for the departing soul, the author of
combined phrases from Gen. 6, 13, Josh. 23, 14, III
2, 2, and Ps. 38, 14, to make a new whole, and passed
to the Salisbury office for the visitation of the sick, thus
me our common English heritage. A riddle still remains
students of church history to solve: why should the
appear, suddenly, as it were, in the 11th century in all
f Europe?

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of M. Magistretti, Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Ambrosianae (Milano,
), of which the Pontificale forms vol. I, the Manuale, vols. II and III.
question is discussed by Bishop, Liturgica Historica, 165–202; cf. also Cabrol,
31 ff.

PASSAGE OF THE SOULS TO PURGATORY IN THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA*

THEODORE SILVERSTEIN

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second canto of the *Purgatorio* opens, Dante's attention
cted by a light which, swiftly approaching, discloses the
f wings.

'Fa, fa che le ginnochia cali:
ecco l' angel di Dio: piega le mani:
omai vedrai di si fatti officiali.
Vedi che sdegna li argomenti umani,
sì che remo non vuol nè altro velo
che l' ali sue tra liti sì lontani.
Vedi come l' ha dritte verso il cielo,
trattando l' aere con l' etterne penne,
che non si mutan come mortal pelo.'
. . . . . .
. . . e quei sen venne a riva
con un vasello snelletto e leggiero,
tanto che l' acqua nulla ne 'nghiottiva.
Da poppa stava il celestial nocchiero,
tal che parea beato per iscripto;
e più di cento spirti entro sediero.
'*In exitu Israel de Egypto*'
cantavan tutti insieme ad una voce
con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scripto.
(ii, 28–48)

the souls destined to be saved are carried across the
Purgatory.

ncident, with its contrasting relationship to the Charon
in *Inferno*, ii, 82–105, is a dramatic example of the
of reminiscence and cross-reference by which Dante
tly fortifies the architectonics of his book. The shining
he joyous hymn, the speeding vessel, instantly carry the
back 'al nocchier de la livida palude, che 'ntorno a li
vea di fiamme rote,' to the curses with which the sinners

Bestemmiavano Dio e lor parenti,
l'umana spezie e 'l luogo e 'l tempo e 'l seme
di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti,

and to the *nave* the lumbering slowness of which is implied Charon's anticipatory mention of the lighter boat of Purgato 'più lieve legno convien che ti porti.' [1] And this, in turn, ca up at once the grimy squalor of *Aeneid*, vi, 298–304, as Da for effect intended that it should:

> Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
> terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
> canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
> sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.
> Ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat
> et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
> iam senior. . . .[2]

The rapidity of the episode in Purgatory is Dante's own, well as the freshness of its use. But for many of the details which these qualities collectively reside, the critics have fou illuminating though minor illustrations elsewhere in literatu some of them perhaps to be reckoned as direct sources.[3] As the psalm *In exitu Israel*, the weaving of it into the picture notably in keeping with its traditional use, and that of t

[1] Cf., among the numerous other boats in the Divina commedia, the *nave piccio* of the swift Phlegyas, guardian of the fifth circle of Hell; Inferno, viii, 13 ff.

[2] The artistic effectiveness of this kind of imitation with a difference of earlier wo which the reader instantly would recognize, Dante knew full well. It is a trick whic employs not only indirectly in his making Vergil the guide, but more specifically in treatment of many small details throughout the poem. The passages on Cerberus (I vi, 13 ff.) and the Laodiceans (Inf., iii, 34–42) illustrate the method clearly, as I h noted in 'Did Dante Know the Vision of St Paul?' Harvard Studies and Note Philology and Literature, XIX (1937), 241–242 and n. 31. Cf. 'Dante and Vergil Mystic,' Harvard Studies and Notes, XIV (1932), 61–62; and Giovanni Pas La mirabile visione (Messina, 1902), pp. 499 ff.

[3] The *vasello snelletto e leggiero*, for example, recalls alike Isaiah xviii 2, *vasi pap* and Horace, Odes, III, ii, 28–29, *fragilemque mecum|Solvat phaselum*; and it may something to Catullus, iv, 1–5:

> Phasellus ille, quem videtis, hospites,
> Ait fuisse navium celerrimus,
> Neque ullius natantis impetum trabis
> Nequisse praeterire, sive palmulis
> Opus foret volare sive linteo.

The figure of the sail composed of wings is reminiscent of Pliny, Historia natura xxxiv, 4, § 17, *Aurae velificantes sua veste*. See Celestino Cavedoni, Raffronti tra autori biblici e sacri e la divina commedia (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inedi rari, ed. Passerini, vol. XXIX, 1896), p. 53; and Domingo Fransoni, Studi vari s divina commedia (Firenze, 1887), pp. 197 ff.

:s of Exodus to which it refers, in the liturgy, and with its
oyment by the poet himself on another occasion. For it
ong known as customarily sung during funerals, when the
was being conveyed to church or cemetery; [4] and Dante
s demonstration to Can Grande of the four-fold interpre-
n of Scripture, explains the words of this psalm as signifying
ogically, 'exitus anime sancte ab huius corruptionis servi-
ad eterne glorie libertatem.' [5]

ow, apart from the various minutiae which render it con-
nt with Dante's purpose, the passage as a whole is related
n apocalyptic motif, on which it evidently depends, very
h as the Charon episode in Inferno iii is based on the Aeneid.
motif is the journey by water to the dwelling-places of the
teous in certain of the popular visions of Heaven and Hell.[6]

a divina commedia, ed. Poletto (2nd ed., Roma-Tournay, 1905), II, 35, n. 46–48; a d. c., col commento Scartazziniano (9th ed. rev. Giuseppe Vandelli, Milan, p. 311, n. 46–48. The association of the Exodus with the prayers for the dead is ancient. It appears on many early Christian sarcophagi and is referred to in one *orationes pseudocyprianae*: 'Tu omnium dominus dominator, libera me de hoc o et exaudi me orantem, sicut exaudisti filios Israel de terra Aegypti. . . .' It also in the *Ordo commendationis animae* (see Cabrol and Leclercq, Dictionnaire éologie chrétienne et de liturgie, art. Défunts, IV, especially 431, 435–436 *et* a) and in the *Oratio post obitum hominis* of the Sacramentarium Gelasianum (see tori, Liturgia romana vetus, I, 748–749). In the modern Roman missal Ps. 113.1 in the *Missa ad postulandam gratiam bene moriendi* during the Easter season.

Epistole, xiii, § 7, 21. Cf. Convivio, II, i, 6.

n the following discussion no distinction is specially observed, in the selection of les, between the souls of the dead and the mere sojourner or visionary who after- comes back to the present life. (Hence the references below to Alexander, St Paul rendan, who are living travellers seeking knowledge of the supernatural realms.) s because the apocalyptic traditions themselves which were available to the e Ages, though careful always to distinguish between the deceased and the mortal nt, often do not differentiate the means of their arrival. Thus in Aeneid vi Charon Aeneas away as being still alive, but once the golden bough is displayed he ferries ojan hero across the infernal river in the same boat by which the dead are usually d. The entire problem is complicated by instances in which the visitant had actu- ied but come to life again not long afterwards. Thus in Gregory's Dialogues xxvi) a certain Stephen is said to have deceased and recovered and during the al to have been obliged to walk across the same precarious Bridge by means of all the souls of the dead must traverse the Otherworld river. In the twelfth- y Visio Tnugdali, Tundale undergoes a similar experience; ed. Albrecht Wagner gen, 1882), pp. 15, 72–73, 143–144. Dante himself in Inferno iii, it may be re- d, shows that he is aware of the distinction, but his solution of the problem which tes leaves us in doubt. Once Charon's opposition to Dante's mortality has been ome, he states, not that his distinguished earthly visitor may not embark on his

One of the commonest conventions of the accounts of Otherworld is that which places the land of the blessed be a body of water, difficult or painful to traverse. In the Judeo-Christian apocalypses the idea of purification was connected with the belief. Thus the Apocalypses of Moses St Paul both make immersion in a lake called Acherusia, w the City of Christ is situated (according to *Paul*), a neces preliminary to entering the dwellings of the just.[7] In the A alypse of Peter the boundary is a flaming river which, unde influence of the belief about the cleansing fire at the End o World, takes on the two-fold character of winnowing-fan purgatory. Both these elements appear, rather indistin expressed, in the Ethiopic text,[8] and, clearer and better veloped, in a Greek derivative of *Peter*, the Second Boo Sibylline Oracles:

> καὶ τότε δὴ πάντες διὰ αἰθομένου ποταμοῖο
> καὶ φλογὸς ἀσβέστου διελεύσονθ'· οἵ τε δίκαιοι
> πάντες σωθήσονται· ἀσεβεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ὀλοῦνται
> εἰς αἰῶνας ὅλους, ...[9]

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vessel, but that it would be more suitable for Dante to sail in the *lighter* craft, cross in the boat reserved for the good souls to Purgatory and Paradise, where h longs, and not to Hell. Shortly afterwards Dante swoons and, upon awaking, himself on the opposite shore of the Acheron without knowing exactly how h crossed.

[7] For *Paul* see Visio sancti Pauli apostoli, § 22, ed. M. R. James, Apocrypha dota, I (Texts and Studies, vol. II, no. 3, Cambridge, Eng., 1893), p. 23, ll. 2 Cf. my Visio sancti Pauli (Studies and Documents, no. IV, London, 1935), p. ll. 3–5. The lake appears also in the other Long versions of *Paul* — Greek, Coptic Russian, Syriac —, references to all of which need not be given here. In the Syria lake is erroneously designated by a name which Giuseppe Ricciotti, L' apocali Paolo siriaca (Brescia, 1932), I, 58, renders as 'Sapienza dell' eucarista.' Fo Apocalypse of Moses, see M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Ox 1924), p. 518. A similar purification is described in the Ethiopic text of the Apoca of Peter, but there the Acherusia is a *field*: 'Then will I give unto mine elect righteous the washing (baptism) and the salvation for which they have besough in the field of Akrosja which is called Anēslaslejā [i.e. Elysium].' (James, Apocr. N p. 518.)

[8] Transl. James, Apocr. N. T., p. 514.

[9] II, 252–255; ed. Joh. Geffcken (Leipzig, 1902), p. 40. Transl. James, Apocr. N p. 523: 'And then shall all men pass through a blazing river and unquenchable f and the righteous shall be saved whole, all of them, but the ungodly shall perish th unto all ages. . . .'

ther passage repeats the theme, with the significant addition
ne angelic guide:

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, ὁπόσοις τε δίκη καλά τ' ἔργα μέμηλεν
ἠδὲ καὶ εὐσεβίη τε δικαιότατοί τε λογισμοί,
ἄγγελοι αἰρόμενοι δι' αἰθομένου ποταμοῖο
εἰς φῶς ἄξουσιν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν ἀμέριμνον, ...[10]

n this form the watery boundary of Heaven is virtually in-
inguishable from the fiery stream that becomes the painful
to Hell. It is the form which circulated widely during the
in Middle Ages in such works as the Vision of a Soldier in
gory's *Dialogues*,[11] the Vision of Sunniulf reported by
gory of Tours,[12] Boniface's account of a vision seen at Wen-
Abbey,[13] the late mediaeval Redaction Four of the Vision
St Paul and its dependents,[14] St Patrick's Purgatory,[15] and
twelfth-century Vision of Alberic.[16] In them sometimes the
rnal qualities of the river are emphasized, sometimes the
gatorial.[17] But Paradise is always on the opposite shore.

II, 313–316; ed. Geffcken, p. 43. Transl. James, p. 524: 'But the residue which
cared for justice and good deeds, yea, and godliness and righteous thoughts, shall
s bear up and carry through the flaming river unto light, and life without care,
e is the immortal path of the great God. . . .'

IV, xxxvi (Migne, P. L., LXXVII, 384–385).

Historia Francorum, IV, xxxiii (Migne, P. L., LXXI, 296).

Mon. germ. hist., Epistolae selectae (ed. Tangl, 1916), I, 11–12.

H. Brandes, Visio s. Pauli (Halle, 1885), p. 76, ll. 5–10; P. Meyer, 'La descente
int-Paul en enfer,' Romania, XXIV (1895), 366–367; and Silverstein, Visio sancti
, p. 198, ll. 4 ff. The detail is given very wide currency in the various vernacular
lations and paraphrases of these Latin texts. See, for example, the French version
eyer, Romania, XXIV, loc. cit., and the Italian in Pasquale Villari, Antiche leg-
e e tradizioni che illustrano la divina commedia (Pisa, 1865), p. 78.

See, for example, John Colgan, Trias thaumaturga (Louvain, 1647), p. 277,
; Migne, P. L., CLXXX, 995, viii, § 53; C. M. van der Zanden, Purgatoire de saint
ce (Amsterdam, 1928), p. 170, and pp. 117–119, vv. 1073 ff.; and Villari, Antiche
nde e tradizioni, p. 65.

Ed. Francesco Cancellieri, Osservazioni . . . sopra l'originalità della divina com-
a di Dante (Roma, 1814), pp. 168–170, § 17.

The purgatorial nature of the stream comes out especially clearly in the vision
at Wenlock Abbey and the Vision of Alberic. Wenlock, ed. Tangl, I, 11–12: 'Nec
et igneum piceumque flumen bulliens et ardens mirae formidinis et teterrimę
is cernebat. Super quod lignum pontis vice positum erat. Ad quod sanctae
sęque animę ab illo secedentes conventu properabant desiderio alterius ripę
ire cupientes. Et quaedam non titubantes constanter transiebant, quaedam vero

To cross the stream or to be purified in its depths is thus indispensable requirement for admission into the land of deli

It will be observed, of course, that in these accounts the s do not cross the water in a sailing vessel, but either by di immersion or by means of the Bridge of Hell or Purgatory. all of them, moreover, the treatment of the theme is hea touched by the traditional gloom of Hell.

Both of these basic differences from Dante disappear in other form of the belief that was current in western Chris dom and is associated especially with legends of Celtic origi connection. This conceives the Otherworld barrier to be a br lake or sea, not necessarily unpleasant nor purificatory in nat which can be crossed only after a lengthy journey by boa The numerous *imrama* in which it occurs are essentially type of the voyage of discovery. Thus a sense of endless sai in the open air over wide expanses of water pervades th tempering their use of the motif to the freshness of spirit t characterizes likewise the episode in the *Purgatorio*.

This is the spirit of the best-known of these works, the mo ish *Navigatio sancti Brendani*, of which several Latin and nacular versions were accessible in the later Middle Ages. book begins with an account by Barintus of the wonders he seen upon the great ocean and of his journey in *navicula pus* to the Land of Promise of the Saints: 'Dum autem ego et filio meus perambularemus totam insulam, duxit ipse me ad l maris contra occidentem ubi erat navicula pusilla et dixit m "Pater, ascende navem et navigemus contra orientalem plag ad insulam que dicitur 'terra repromissionis sanctorum,' qu

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labefactę de ligno cadebant in Tartareum flumen, et aliae tinguebantur pene quasi corpore mersae; aliae autem ex parte quadam, veluti quedam usque ad genua, quae usque ad medium, quaedam vero usque ad ascellas. Et tamen unaquaeque caden multo clarior speciosiorque de flumine in alteram ascendebat ripam, quam pri piceum bulliens cecidisset flumen. Et unus ex beatis angelis de illis cadentibus ar bus dixit: "Hae sunt animae, quae post exitum mortalis vitę quibusdam levibus non omnino ad purum abolitis aliqua pia miserentis Dei castigatione indigeban Deo digne offerantur."'

[18] For a convenient treatment of this motif, with brief but suggestive referenc its various appearances in ancient as well as mediaeval tradition, see H. R. P 'Some Elements in Mediaeval Descriptions of the Otherworld,' PMLA, XX (1918), 627 ff. and, especially, n. 93.

laturus est successoribus nostris in novissimo tempore."
lentibus igitur navem nobis et navigare incipientibus
cooperuerunt nos undique in tantum ut vix potuissemus
n aut proram navis videre. Transacto quasi unius hore
circumfulsit nos lux ingens et apparuit terra speciosa et
sa pomiferaque valde.' [19] Brendan himself, at the climax
voyaging, sets sail for the same land, guided thither by a
ator Christi and sent upon his way with the prayers of a
ude of birds.[20] And a much expanded Italian version of
gend describes, with a simile about the going-out of souls
rings the entire episode very close to the *Purgatorio*, the
delight of Brendan's arrival at his destination, amid sing-
d the chanting of a hymn: 'E com' eglino andavano più
colla nave, e' vedevano lo cielo più bello e l' aria più
e maggiore luce del dì, e udiva uccelli cantare molto e
mente, e di diverse boci e canti; e tanta era l' allegrezza e
orto e 'l diletto, lo quale riceveva san Brandano con tutti
frati di vedere e d' udire e d' odorare tante preziose cose,
asi di dolcezza li usciva l' anima di corpo. E andando la
inanzi, ella giunse al porto, e stette ferma alla riva ed
lodavano Iddio divotamente dicendo: *Te Deum lau-*
.'[21] Since the codex in which this passage appears is of
urteenth century and yet not an autograph,[22] it is more
ikely that it represents a text that was already in circu-
during Dante's time.

ome of the *imrama* and related Celtic tales the vessel, it

rl Wahlund, Brendans Meerfahrt (Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Veten-
mfundet i Upsala, IV, 3, Upsala, 1900), 'Kompromiss-Text,' p. 4, ll. 15–27.
04, ll. 17–27, and, for the French texts, p. 5, ll. 17–27, and p. 105, ll. 16–28.
the other versions, see especially the Old Venetian, ed. Francesco Novati
ca storica della letteratura italiana, no. I, Bergamo, 1896), pp. 2–3; and the
ext in Villari, Antiche leggende e tradizioni, p. 83. For the *nebule* see Patch,
lements,' p. 627 and n. 91. Cf. n. 31 below.

l. Wahlund, p. 96, ll. 4–23. Cf. pp. 97, 196 and 197.

lari, Antiche leggende e tradizioni, p. 104. First set of italics mine. Cf. the
etian, ed. Novati, p. 77: 'e tanta iera la alegreza e lo conforto che rezeueua lo
li frari con luy e lo soaue odor de bone erbe et oliose, che quasio ch' elo l' insiua
del chorpo . . . ed eli loda con gran reuerenzia dio, digando questo salmo: *te*
udamus, te dominum confitemur.'

lari, p. 82, n. 1. That the manuscript is a scribal copy appears from the nature
rors.

should be noted, is of the marvellous kind, a crystal barc ship of glass,[23] a boat of bronze,[24] related by its magic qual Dante's supernatural *vasello*. But this feature does not in any of the versions of the Voyage of Brendan.

The two conceptions of the barrier to Paradise, the p torial river and the vast sea, are not always sharply sepa in all their elements from one another, partly because of reciprocal influence in areas where they circulated simu ously and partly because of modification arising from sources. The magic brightness of the *imrama* is some shadowed by the darksome dangers of the Judeo-Chr Hell,[25] and the voyage itself assumes the character of a tential journey,[26] as may be seen from such pieces as the V of Maelduin, of the Ui Corra, of Snedgus and Mac Riagl of St Columba's Clerics.[27] The *Navigatio sancti Brendan* wise shows traces of this contamination.[28] In the lege

[23] Echtra Condla Chaim, ed. Windisch, Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik (1879), p. 120; transl. Jubainville, Cours de littérature celtique (Paris, 1892), Cf. Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, Voyage of Bran (Grimm Library, no. 4, 1895), I, 146; A. C. L. Brown, 'Iwain,' Harvard Studies and Notes in Philol Literature, VIII (1903), 29; and St John Seymour, Irish Visions of the Othe (London, 1930), p. 67.

[24] Serglige Conculaind, ed. Windisch, Irische Texte, I (Leipzig, 1880), 21 transl. Jubainville, Cours de littérature celtique, V, 183. Cf. Brown, 'Iwain, For other instances of the mysterious boat, in the *Acallamh na Senorach* and th of Becuma, see Brown, pp. 96–97.

[25] See, for example, Seymour, Irish Visions, pp. 71 ff.

[26] Eleanor Hull, Text Book of Irish Literature (Dublin, 1906), I, 130.

[27] Maelduin, Revue celtique, IX (1888), 452–495, and X (1889), 50–95; U R. C., XIV (1893), 22–63; Snedgus and Mac Riagla, R. C., IX, 14–25; and Col Clerics, R. C., XXVI (1905), 130–167. All these texts are edited by Whitley S

[28] In the Arthurian romances there are several instances of the occurrence dangerous River and Bridge, and the origin especially of the Bridge has been a of considerable scholarly controversy. Patch, 'Some Mediaeval Elements,' p 640, points out the essential inconsistency of the motif with the belief about th lake, and comes to the conclusion, rightly as I think, that they represent a cont tion of either Norse or ultimately oriental provenience. Miguel Asín Palac escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia (Real Academia Española, Madrid especially p. 237, has tried, particularly in connection with the popular visions, that the transmission from the East was primarily through the Islamic *hadiths* a later elaborations, all of which were themselves influenced by Persian lore and probably penetrated into the West in the later Middle Ages by way of both Sic Spain. But it should be remembered that the visions and the romances aro Christian world which had long known the dangerous narrow foot-path to the bou

s of Alexander the Great, whose exploits were among the te reading of the later Middle Ages, his desire to visit lise and his association with the fabulous Brahmans offered ion equally for the employment of the combined motifs. upernatural boundary, according to the various accounts, e river Phison, which flows from Paradise,[29] the great -encircling water Okeanos,[30] the terrible 'foetid sea.'[31] eadly fumes, its devouring beasts, are dangers comparable ne extent with those of the fiery river;[32] but it is traversed, all, by boat, sometimes quickly,[33] sometimes only after a long passage of time.[34] In any case, the episode is always *plein jour*, forming a part of a collection of travel tales correspond in imaginative strangeness to those of the Irish *na* themselves.

t so far as the second canto of the *Purgatorio* is concerned,

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IV Ezra vii 7–9, and the slippery bridge traversed by the nameless soldier in the book of Gregory's Dialogues (Cap. xxxvi, Migne, P. L., LXXVII, 385). For the influence of these two sources on the mediaeval visions, see Silverstein, Visio Pauli, pp. 77–79, and pp. 123–124, especially nn. 85, 88 and 89.

his is common to many of the Alexander texts, and we need only give a few con- references here: Historia de preliis, J², § 98, in F. P. Magoun, The Gests of lexander of Macedon (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 176 (cf. the Middle-English der B, Magoun, loc. cit.; the French prose romance, ed. Alfons Hilka, Der zösische Prosa-Alexanderroman, Halle, 1920, p. 186; and I nobili fatti di Ales- magno, ed. Giusto Grion, Collezione di opere inediti o rare dei primi tre secoli ngua, Bologna, 1872, p. 134); Commonitorium Palladii, ed. Fr. Pfister, Kleine um Alexanderroman . . . nach der Bamberger Handschrift (Heidelberg, 1910), d Alexandri Magni iter ad paradisum, ed. Julius Zacher (Regimonti Pr., 1859),

A Christian Legend Concerning Alexander,' transl. from the Syriac by E. A. Budge, The History of Alexander the Great (Cambridge, Eng., 1889), pp. 145 .

id. It may be observed, in passing, that Paradise is here (p. 152) described as urrounded by clouds and darkness, reminiscent of the *nebule* of the Celtic . See p. 59 and n. 19 above.

f. especially Redaction Four of the Visio Pauli; Brandes, p. 76, and Meyer, ia, XXIV, 366–367.

he important J² version, for example, of Archpresbyter Leo's Historia de preliis, that Alexander himself could not cross the stream but that 'uocari fecit ipsos nos quos uiderat ultra flumen. Et statim unus ex ipsis cum parua nauicula l ipsum'; Magoun, The Gests of King Alexander, pp. 176–177.

n the thirteenth-century Latin text of the Iter ad Paradisum, where Alexander s in traversing the waters to the wonderful land, the journey requires several of difficult navigation; ed. Zacher, pp. 19–21.

the most notable example of what for present convenienc
be considered a composite treatment, containing, as it
both the purificatory element and that of the sea journ
furnished by the Long texts of the Apocalypse of Paul.
account is characterized by a remarkable number of n
coincidences with the lines in Dante. Under the guidance
angel of God, St Paul arrives at the bank of a river the w
of which are exceedingly white: 'Et post haec adsumpsit
loco illo ubi aec uidi, et ecce flumen et aqae eius erant
candide ualde desuper lac, et dixi angelo: Quid est hoc? et
mihi: Hic est aceriosus [*sc.* Ἀχερούσιος] lacus [35] ubi est c
Christi, sed non omnis homo permittetur ingredi in ciui
illam; hoc est enim iter quod ducit ad deum, et si quis est
cator et impius, et conversus penituerit et fecerit fructun
num penitenciae, primum quidem cum exierit de co
ducitur et adorat deum et inde iussu domini traditur Mic
angelo et baptizat eum in aceriosium lacum; sic inducit e
ciuitatem Christi iusta eos qui nihil peccauerunt. Ego a
admiratus sum et benedixi dominum deum in omnibus qu

'Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Sequere me, et ind
te in ciuitatem Christi. Et erat stans super aceriosium la
et misit me in nauem auream, et angeli quasi tria milia yn
ante me dicentes erant donec peruenirem usque ad ciui
Christi.' [36]

The milk-white Acherusia, unclouded by the mist
Brendan saw,[37] both lake and river, and also the purga
road to God; the shining golden boat for the transport of
the angelic guide; the singing of a hymn as the vessel pro
in brief journey across the waters — all this is so like Dan
detail and, more significantly, in the quiet brightness

[35] Cf. the 'St Gall Text,' Silverstein, Visio sancti Pauli, p. 137 f.: *Acherusiu*

[36] M. R. James, Apocrypha anecdota, I, 23–24. Cf. the 'St Gall Text,' Silv
pp. 137–138. This passage remarkably anticipates the *Serglige Conculaind*, not
its vessel of gold, corresponding to the bronze ship (see n. 24 above), but als
placing the City of Christ beyond a white and purifying lake, similar to that
Irish work: 'Labraid is over a pure lake' (Brown, 'Iwain,' p. 35). Cf. Patch,
Elements,' p. 628, n. 93. Whether or not the resemblance is accidental, it is a p
some importance, never observed, so far as I am aware, by those who have dea
the question of the origins of the Celtic Otherworld lore.

[37] See Wahlund, pp. 96–97 and 196–197; and n. 19 above.

d, that it seems impossible that his lines can be entirely pendent of it. I have elsewhere [38] pointed out that, con- y to the general opinion of the Dante critics, the survival he primitive Long text of *Paul* in the later Middle Ages obably provided the poet with the opportunity for a fuller uaintance with the vision than was offered by its abbrevi- l mediaeval Redactions, and that at least two passages in *Inferno* indicate strongly that he had taken advantage of opportunity.[39] If its resemblance to St Paul's experience he river-lake Acherusia has not been exaggerated, Canto ii he *Purgatorio* may now perhaps be reckoned as a third piece estimony to the same conclusion.

lowever this may be, Dante evidently had a rich body of litional lore and literary example from which to draw the stance of his canto and on which to exercise his poetic ers. By the arrangement and careful balance of detail, ing the legendary voyage to the happy Otherworld firmly n its Acheronian counterpart in the *Inferno*, he has wrought episode into the cathedral-like structure of his poem. He shaped it also to consonance with his multiple meaning by stituting for an unnamed hymn the psalm appropriate ough ancient custom to death and the going-out of souls. beyond this craftsman's skill, the whole is touched to thing freshness by the supernatural swiftness of the vessel, terned of remembered fragments from many sources, and by figure, inimitably Dantesque, of angelic brightness moving n the speed of light across the waters.

Harvard Studies and Notes, XIX, 231–247, and especially pp. 244–246.

Inferno, xi, 3–13, and iii, 24–42. See Harvard Studies and Notes, loc. cit., and te and the Visio Pauli,' Modern Language Notes, XLVII (1932), 397–399.

THE DATE OF THE ADONIA AT ATHENS*

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E dates have been suggested for the celebration of the al of Adonis at Athens, all of which have found adherents cent years. Deubner, relying solely on the apparent evi- of vase-paintings, as interpreted by Hauser, placed the ia at the beginning of autumn.[1] The only argument in of so late a date, that bunches of fresh grapes appeared in sentations of the κῆποι 'Αδώνιδος' was disposed of by Nock, pointed out that grapes were also kept until the feast of s, Anthesterion 12.[2]

ightier arguments have been adduced for a date in mid- ner. Baudissin first put forth this theory in opposition to nen prevalent belief in a spring festival.[3] Cumont has since n that under the Empire, the festival was held on the nine- h of July, the date, according to the Julian calendar, of the of Sirius and the beginning of the canicular year.[4] He sted further that such was also the case at Athens, and, dingly, that in 415 B.C. the fleet did not sail for Sicily till that date.[5]

is suggestion has been taken up and elaborated by Pigan- His argument, briefly, is as follows:

lato dates the Adonia in summer: θέρους εἰς 'Αδώνιδος κήπους (Phaedrus, 276 b).

lutarch (Nic. 13 and Alcib. 18) places the Adonia at the

y thanks are due to Professor W. S. Ferguson for a number of valuable ions.

Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin, 1932), p. 221; F. Hauser, Oest. Jahresh., 12, p. 90–99.

D. Nock, review of Deubner, op. cit., in Gnomon, 10, 1934, pp. 290–292; cf. ilsson, de Dionysiis Atticis (Lundae, 1900), pp. 125–126.

W. Baudissin, Adonis und Esmun (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 126–133.

Cumont, "Les Syriens en Espagne et les Adonies à Seville," Syria 8, 1927, pp. ; "Adonis et Sirius," Mélanges Glotz, 1932, 1, pp. 257 ff.; "Adonies et e," Syria 16, 1935, pp. 46–50.

Cumont, Syria 16, 1935, p. 49, n. 2.

Piganiol, "Deux notes sur l'expédition de Sicile, I. Les Adonies de 415 av. REG 50, 1937, pp. 1–8.

time when the fleet was about to sail for Sicily, while Aris
nes (Lys. 387–398) makes the festival coincide with a m
of the ecclesia at which Demostratus spoke on the subject
expedition. Is there a contradiction here? We know
Thucydides (VI, 8) that in the spring of 415, when the de
had returned from Sicily, the Athenians voted the wa
elected the generals; five days later another assembly wa
in which, at the insistence of a demogogue whom Thuc
(VI. 25) does not name, but who according to Plutarch (N
Alcib. 18) was Demostratus, full powers were granted
generals. It has generally been admitted that this is the a
bly to which Aristophanes refers. This Piganiol denies; h
(p. 3): "Ce que Démostratos disait au temps des Adonies
qu'il était grand temps de mettre à la voile et qu'il ne fa
pas omettre, en se rendant à Corcyre, d'embarquer les ho
de Zakynthos. Il est vraiment arbitraire d'imaginer q
Démostratos n'ait parlé qu'une fois. Concluons que les A
avaient lieu dans les jours qui ont immédiatement préc
mise à la voile." An occasion for the speech he finds in
cydides VI. 29.3, when the enemies of Alcibiades, fearin
if he were tried while the army was still in Athens he wo
acquitted, urged that the fleet sail at once: *οἳ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲ
αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀναγωγήν, ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν τ
ῥηταῖς.*

(c) Thucydides tells us (VI. 30) that the fleet sailed
μεσοῦντος ἤδη. Piganiol admits, with Meritt and Dinsm
that the last of the four payments to the generals took pl
June (June 7 according to Dinsmoor and, now, Meritt; Ju
according to Meritt's earlier view), but instead of allowin
the fleet departed soon after this,[8] he maintains that the A
ans did not actually set sail till after July 20.

(d) To account for this delay, he is forced to elaborate a t
centering about the affair of the mutilation of the H

[7] B. D. Meritt, "The Departure of Alcibiades for Sicily," AJA 34, 1930, pp. 1
Athenian Financial Documents (Ann Arbor, 1932), pp. 160 ff.; W. B. Di
Archons of Athens (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 337–340.

[8] Soon after June 8, according to Dinsmoor; Meritt, though now agreeing wit
moor on the date of the last payment, still holds that the fleet did not sail ti
June 20.

:h, on the authority of Andocides (De Myst. 38), he dates
ıe full moon of June 23. He then assumes that the departure
ıe fleet was delayed about one month to prevent the guilty
ons from escaping on the boats.

:t us look at these arguments in turn:

has already been fully dealt with by Nock (l.c., pp. 290–291)
need not detain us further.

This point was also anticipated and answered by Nock.
Demostratus did not say "qu'il était grand temps de mettre
voile." The words are ἔλεγε πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν not some-
g like ἔλεγε μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν or Thucydides'
ιὲν πλεῖν, and the speech referred to in Aristophanes is
efore much more reasonably assigned to that second
mbly in early spring, when the expedition as a whole was
being debated and at which we know that Demostratus
ally spoke, than to some later occasion on the very eve of
departure. As for the question of enrolling (the word is
λέγειν, not, as Piganiol's translation would imply, εἰσβιβάζειν)
ıoplites of Zacynthus, while we do not know when this
actually decided, it must have been at a relatively early
to allow the islanders time to make ready, and it is not un-
y that it was precisely at this second assembly. For we are
that on this occasion Nicias, still hoping to dampen the
mbly's enthusiasm, asked for men and supplies on a grandi-
cale (Thuc. VI, 20–23; note especially 22. 1: ὁπλίτας τε οὖν
ούς μοι δοκεῖ χρῆναι ἡμᾶς ἄγειν καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων,
ε ὑπηκόων καὶ ἤν τινα ἐκ Πελοποννήσου δυνώμεθα ἢ πεῖσαι ἢ μισθῷ
αγαγέσθαι); to his chagrin, they were granted, with full
ers to the generals. What more reasonable time for a real
onent of the expedition to have replied, in answer to the
est of Nicias, "Very well, let us enroll the forces of the
nthians and others"? It is perhaps, as Piganiol says, ar-
ry to assume that Demostratus spoke only once. But is
t also arbitrary to distort the words, as he has done, from
obvious meaning, which is suitable to the occasion on
h we know he spoke, in order to connect them, far less
opriately, with an occasion when we have no reason to
k that Demostratus spoke at all?

(c) (d) These arguments rest largely on assumptions
have no basis in the evidence. For the authors, as M
demonstrated,[9] while admittedly not explicit, imply throu
that the departure of the fleet came not long after the ac
tion of Alcibiades and that this, in turn, followed quite
upon the actual mutilation of the Herms, not, as Piganiol
have us believe, some three weeks later. Further, Piga
treatment of the vexed question as to the time of mon
which the mutilation took place is far less thorough and
vincing than that of Meritt. Plutarch (Alcib. 20) and Dio
(XIII. 2. 4) say it was the new moon, Andocides, reportin
testimony of Diocleides, says it was full moon. Piganiol m
lists the modern scholars who have taken one side or the o
and aligns himself with those who accept the account of An
des; he makes no effort to explain the origin of the other ve
Meritt, on the contrary, offers a reasonable solution of th
parent error in Andocides.[10] According to the passage of
tarch, it was in the cross-examination that one of the infor
(presumably Diocleides), when asked how he could have r
nized the Hermocopidae, answered "by the light of the mo
a slip which discredited his whole story. Andocides give
statement as though it were made in the original charg
Diocleides, not in the cross-examination, but Meritt plau
suggests that Andocides, in writing his speech sixteen
after the event, included under one head material taken
from the charge and from the cross-examination. It is cert
just the sort of point that we should expect to have brough
in the cross-examination. But even if it was mentioned in
original charge, this need not surprise us, seeing that the
story was a tissue of lies. The city was obviously in a p
and at such times, especially when political interests ar
volved, nearly anything can gain credence; witness, for exa
the belief accorded the wild charges of Titus Oates and o
at the time of the Papist Plot.

We must then, I feel, return to the date in spring fo
Adonia, the evidence for which has been gathered by M

[9] B. D. Meritt, AJA 34, 1930, pp. 136–137.
[10] Ibid., pp. 137–139.

itt has suggested that the date can be even more closely rmined.[11] We know that in the second half of the fifth cen- the festival of Eros, in the sanctuary which he shared with rodite ἐν Κήποις on the north slope of the Acropolis, was the th of Mounichion,[12] a date which, according to Meritt's putations, is to be equated, in 415 B.C., with April 13 of the an calendar. Meritt also shows that the first payment to biades, Nicias and Lamachus for the expedition, presumably e soon after the meeting of the assembly which voted them powers, and at which Demostratus spoke, came at about this e date, the outside limits (granting that Mounichion 4 = l 13) being April 10 and April 24. In view of this striking espondence, which, as he says, is certainly more than mere cidence, Meritt concluded that it is at least highly likely in the year 415 B.C. the Adonia were held on or near nichion 4, the date of the Eros festival.

ne literary source, Alciphron, Epist. IV, 14 (I.39), which is to confirm a date in the spring for the Adonia, was not ced by either Nock or Meritt.[13] It is, to be sure, much in date than the period with which we are here primarily erned, and the crucial word in the text is an emendation. this emendation is almost certainly correct,[14] and as Alci- n drew chiefly upon writers of the fourth century B.C., his hes in general reflect quite accurately the life of that od.[15]

ne letter in question is from one hetaera, Megara, to her, Bacchis. She tells her of a banquet, just held, to which his, though invited, had not come, no doubt, says Megara, use Bacchis has a new lover, whom she guards like an is, lest some Persephone snatch him away. The letter ends an invitation to another gathering, at which the Adonia be celebrated. I quote the relevant passages, together with hief emendations, using the 1905 Teubner text of Schepers:

3. D. Meritt, Hesperia 4, 1935, pp. 574–575.

). Broneer, Hesperia 1, 1932, pp. 43–44.

find, however, that Nilsson, op. cit., p. 100, n. 1, noted the importance of this this connection.

Cf. contra Aug. Mommsen, Burs. Jahres., 60, 1889, 3, p. 250 and 253.

Christ-Schmid-Staehlin, Griechische Literaturgeschichte, ed. 6, 2, p. 826.

1. κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ Γλυκέρας ἐπὶ θυσίαν ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου[a] — τῶν Διονυσίων γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπήγγειλεν — οὐχ ἥκεις.

8. νῦν μὲν οὖν συγγνώμην ἔχομέν σοι τῆς ὑπεροψίας, τοῖς Ἀδωνί δὲ ἐν Κολλυτῷ ἐστιώμεθα παρὰ τῷ Θεττάλης ἐραστῇ· τὸν γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης ἐρώμενον ἡ Θεττάλη < περι > στέλλει. ὅπως δ' ἥξεις φέρο κηπίον[c] καὶ κοράλλιον καὶ τὸν σὸν Ἄδωνιν ὃν νῦν περιψύχεις· μετὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν κραιπαλήσομεν. ἔρρωσο.

a ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου Cob., εἰς τοσοῦτον χρόνον MSS, del. εἰς Bergl.
b Ἀδωνίοις Pierson, Ἀλώοις MSS.
c κηπίον Bast., κητίον MSS.

The emendation of Ἀλώοις (Ἀλώοις MSS) to Ἀδωνίοις is r
I think, difficult palaeographically, and it is worth not
that in the group of letters contained in the four MSS
derived from the same archetype) which give the text of
letter, the Haloa are mentioned three times, exclusive of
occasion under discussion, while the Adonia are mentioned o
only in all the letters,[16] a fact which may help to explain why
scribe here wrote what he did. The emendation is necess
from several points of view. The Great Dionysia were held fr
Elaphebolion 9 to 13, the Haloa on Poseideon 26, more th
nine months later. The festival mentioned in the last paragra
of the letter is certainly close at hand, for Megara evidently d
not expect to see Bacchis before then. If this festival w
really the Haloa, then the banquet which has just taken pl
must have been planned more than nine months in advance
most unlikely procedure even for a gathering far more for
than this would seem to have been.[17]

Again, the details of the projected meeting fit in exactly w
the picture which other sources give of the nature of the Ado
Thettale is to 'lay out' as for a funeral the loved one of Aph
dite, and Bacchis is told to bring a little garden (a 'Garden

[16] Haloa: IV. 6. 3; IV. 18. 4 and 17; Adonia: IV. 10. 1.

[17] According to Becker-Hermann, Charikles, ed. 2 (Leipzig, 1854), 2, pp. 240–
it was customary to invite guests to dinner often as late as the very day of the din
The locus classicus is Plato, Symp. 174 e: Ὦ, φάναι, Ἀριστόδημε, εἰς καλὸν ἥκεις
συνδειπνήσῃς· εἰ δ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκα ἦλθες, εἰς αὖθις ἀναβαλοῦ, ὡς καί, χθὲς ζητῶν σε
καλέσαιμι, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦ ἰδεῖν. The Sybarites, as one might expect, invited to dinn
year in advance (Plut., Sept. Sap. Conv. 147 e), a fact so strikingly in contrast to
mal Greek custom that it was singled out for mention.

is'), a little doll (the image of the god) and her own, living
nis.' The whole scene is in fact that which we see in the
ient of the Zographus of Diphilus:

οὗ δὲ νυν σ' ἄγω
πορνεῖόν ἐστιν, πολυτελῶς Ἄδωνια
ἄγουσ' ἑταίρα μεθ' ἑτέρων πορνῶν.[18]

ly, since Megara has previously referred to the myth of
is, when alluding by that name to the actual lover of Bac-
the invitation to the Adonia at the end is artistically
ied.

we assume, with Meritt, that the Adonia were held on or
Mounichion 4, the chronology of the letter is thereby much
ified. The date of the letter would then be about Mouni-
1, and a little more than two weeks would accordingly
elapsed between the invitation given at the Dionysia and
inner just held. This is certainly adequate to justify the
ssion ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου, especially in view of the casual
e of the gatherings (note, for example, that Megara here
ds an invitation for an affair to be given by some one else).
pular form the chronology, according to my interpretation,
follows:

phebolion 9–13. The Dionysia. Invitations given for
r A.
d of Elaphebolion. Dinner A.
ca Mounichion 1. The letter written. Invitation given for
r B.
unichion 4. Dinner B. The Adonia.

ndeed the Adonia were celebrated in Athens on the day
sacred to Eros, it clearly indicates some confusion between
vo on the part of the worshippers; as an example of this
sion Meritt cites a fifth century Attic lecythus which
a winged Eros being attacked by a boar,[19] that is, the
of Adonis is here applied to Eros. More often, however,
entification was not so complete, and in a series of vases
have been interpreted as showing scenes of the Adonia,

ock, Com. Gr. Fragm. 2, fr. 43, 38–40.
Boehlau, "Ein neuer Erosmythus," Philol. 60, 1901, pp. 321–329.

Eros merely assists in the rites, and in one case, Eros Adonis both appear on the same painting.[20] Eros was of a that could easily attract to itself a circle of other divine fig just as Aphrodite attracted and largely absorbed Peitho; as both Eros and Adonis were worshipped at Athens as di ties of vegetation and fertility of the soil,[21] and as both associated with Aphrodite, it is perhaps not unnatural tha some they should have appeared to be related or even ident

[20] Eros and Adonis (?) together on a lecythus of about 350 B.C., now in New G. M. A. Richter, Red-figured Attic Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Haven, 1936), pp. 219–220, no. 173 and Pl. 168; Eros in scenes of the Adonia, H l. c., with the other references given by Richter, p. 219, n. 3. The Ἔρωτες were f with Adonis in Alexandria (cf. Theocr. XV, 120).

[21] O. Broneer, Hesperia 1, 1932, p. 54; B. D. Meritt, Hesperia 4, 1935, p. 574.

A FRAGMENT OF THE ACTA PAULI IN THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

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fragment, P. Mich. 1317, is a damaged scrap of papyrus by 6.3 cm. ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches). It is much darkened with and otherwise damaged by dirt, water, and wear. It is a on of a leaf of a book written on both sides, which came our collection classified as a bit of a lost Gospel, though it not seem to me to conform to that designation. My first script of the text was shown to my colleague Professor ner, and by him to Dr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum and ir Frederic Kenyon. All agreed that these fragmentary ants seem to have belonged to a homily. A transcript of ext was also sent to Professor Kirsopp Lake for suggestions ne probable authorship. Upon the publication of the Acta i by Schmidt and Schubart he at once notified me of the ity in text and we both immediately thereafter established the Michigan and Berlin fragments were parts of a single A page number, πc (= 86), is found just above the be- ng of the first line on the side, where the outer margin is rved. A similar page number on the opposite side of the must have perished, as there only the ends of the lines are rved. It is the part of the leaf next to the binding that is The book form requires the lost number to have been πϵ 5), since the left side of the leaf precedes the right. The of the text in the Hamburg fragment of the Acta Pauli rms this succession of pages. Page πc is on the verso of apyrus, [πϵ] on the recto. Now it is well known that papy- uires, whether large or small, were generally so arranged verso precedes recto in the first half of the quire, and recto edes verso in the second half; compare Schubart, Das bei den Griechern und Römern, p. 129 f., and Kenyon, ter Beatty Papyri, I, 11. There are some exceptions to general rule, but the probability remains that this fragment from the second half of a quire.

The page number πc (= 86) on the right hand side of the
shows that the first or outside page of the manuscript was n
bered 1 and the inside page 2. This seems to me to have
the more usual custom, though some very old papyrus ma
scripts had both numbering and text begin on the inside,
recto, of the first leaf. Such a system implies absence of b
ing and, if so, ought to be the earlier form, yet, if my mem
does not deceive me, it is much the rarer form. This ma
has hardly been touched upon in the published literat
though the evidence would seem to have a bearing on the q
tion of the date of origin of binding. Among the Beatty Pa
the manuscript of the Gospels and Acts began the numbe
and so presumably the text, with the first or outside p
The same condition is shown for the Genesis manusc
(Beatty IV) in Kenyon's publication (Chester Beatty Pap
Vol. IV), but the numbering of the Epistles of Paul (Che
Beatty II) and of the second Genesis manuscript (Che
Beatty V) shows that in those manuscripts the first or out
page was left blank and un-numbered. So also probably
Mich. 133, a fragment of the Psalms. Beatty MSS VII
XI, XII all seem to require that the numbering start with
first outside page. I suspect the same form for the oldest ma
script in the collection (Beatty VI), but the published data
not sufficient to establish the fact without question.
Shepherd of Hermas papyrus at Michigan also began text
numbering on the first page. If, as has been assumed ab
the first page in some old papyrus manuscripts was left
numbered and unwritten because the outside leaf served as
only binding, it is evident that this was only a survival
that more and probably older manuscripts already had the
page numbered, and so doubtless possessed a binding or co

Another possible arrangement is suggested by P. Oxy.
a double papyrus leaf containing John 1, 23–31 and 33–41
the first leaf and 20, 11–17 and 19–25 on the second. As
shown by the editors, this implies a single quire of at leas
sheets or 50 leaves of which the whole first leaf was blank
contained only the title on the inside page, i.e., the recto.
may have been the original arrangement of the papyrus co

a binding was considered a necessity, or this may be
r example of a papyrus codex, in which the original plan
ceeded by one or more sheets in order to include all of
t of the book. As in the single quire codex form the first
each double sheet had to be written before any of the
of the second half, any miscalculation which forced the
of one or more leaves at the end must cause that
r of blank leaves to be added at the beginning. As I con-
ohn Chap. 21 genuine, so I must hold that this manu-
contained it. In that case the manuscript consisted of
-six double sheets and two whole leaves were blank at
inning. This seems to support the explanation which I
ven of the Beatty-Michigan Epistles of Paul, in which
lusion of the Pastoral Epistles requires the addition of
xtra leaves at the end, and so three blank leaves at the
ng. However we explain these fragments which seem
ire one or more leaves blank at the beginning, we should
ore the suggestion that a whole blank leaf at the begin-
quite as likely to have been the original form as a blank
ge only. In fact the whole blank leaf may have suggested
ding, while the blank first page was due to imitation of
x tablet codex.

page number πc is a most welcome addition to our in-
on on the probable size of the Acta Pauli, since it con-
ie form and size of the Hamburg papyrus as established
midt and Schubart. As the top of the leaf is preserved
Michigan fragment and the text extending from the top
[πϵ] to the top of πc of P. Mich. is entirely preserved in
burg, the exact length of the page in P. Mich. is fixed.
re certainly 4 lines lost at the bottom. As 33 lines are
preserved this page originally had 37 lines. The length
varies from 29 to 36 letters, counting the abbreviations
en without expansion. Furthermore the great majority
ines have 12 or 13 syllables, though as many as 16 ap-
rely. As the stichos was in ancient times reckoned at a
ter line, or 12 syllables as a minimum, making some 36
or less,[1] the inference is natural that P. Mich. was writ-

[1] irt, Das Antike Buchwesen, p. 194 ff.

ten in lines equaling stichoi, or perhaps better that it repr
an archetype that was written in stichoi lines. Accordi
Schmidt and Schubart, pp. 7–8, the Acta Pauli was listed
3560 stichoi in the Codex Claromontanus and with 36
Nicephorus. Following the older and smaller number
were originally 96 pages or 48 leaves in the manuscri
which P. Mich. is the leaf numbered [85]–86. P. Hambu
restored by Schmidt and Schubart consisted of 67 page
with considerable variation in size as the number of lin
fully preserved pages varies from 35 to 40. There see
have been no method in the variation as the Acta Pauli fo
the first work in a composite manuscript, and no crowdin
exhibited or necessary at the end. As no page numbe
found in P. Hamburg we can not be sure whether the first
of the first quire was written or not, but parallels cited
suggest that it may have been left blank. Dividing 3560
gives 54 stichoi per average page. There were 59 pages
and including the text covered in P. Mich. in 85 pages. Fu
more the remaining portions of the two manuscripts mu
7 pages in P. Hamburg against 11 pages in P. Mich. Th
complete comparison of the two manuscripts by page
stichoi is as follows:

P. Hamburg 59 pages × 54 = 3186 stichoi + 7 pages ×
378 stichoi

P. Mich. 85 pages × 37 = 3145 stichoi + 11 pages ×
407 stichoi

If one assumes 67 written pages for P. Hamburg, the nu
of stichoi per page would average about 53. This agrees a
less well with the stichoi numbers in P. Mich., but is not in
sible. On either supposition variation in the amount o
before and after the common passage as shown by the s
computation is too small to allow us to assume any vari
in the content of the Acta Pauli as presented by the two m
scripts. The slight differences are properly accounted fo
the varying size of pages in P. Hamburg. The fact that
πc in P. Mich. has parts of 35 lines preserved, and so pe
had originally 38 lines, can not affect the reckoning. S
variations in numbers of lines per page are not uncommo

papyrus is written in a formal book hand of considerable
nd elegance, but without any definite tendency toward
entation. In general the letters are broad, some con-
usly so. Only υ and ψ are exceptionally long. ϕ and ρ
l well below the line, β and sometimes ι less so. α is
s angular; β has its lower lobe enlarged and once the bot-
s formed by a separate horizontal stroke; γ has its top
much shorter than τ, but it sometimes extends across
erpendicular to a slight extent; the bottom stroke of δ
ally extends beyond the side strokes; ϵ is slightly oval,
ften has its middle stroke prolonged. θ also is somewhat
nd its cross stroke extends well beyond the curve; κ is
, especially the bottom of the letter, but without orna-
μ is very broad and the two outside strokes are nearly
ndicular, while the two inside strokes join in an angle,
generally reaches as low as the bottoms of the other
s; ξ is the cursive form, made without raising the pen
he papyrus; the top and bottom are much broader than
iddle; o is always small; π is broad and the top stroke
ally extends slightly beyond both perpendiculars; ρ has
curve small, like an omicron; σ is formed with a broader
at the top than ϵ but the bottom of the curve is drawn in
he letter were to be slightly oval, as ϵ and θ; τ has its top
of fair length, often touching the letters on each side,
is free from ornamental dots or even the tendency to
υ is a very long shaped letter, generally extending
y above the letters about it, while its tail always touches
tter of the line below; its upper left hand branch gen-
begins with a slight curve. ϕ is of the ordinary length
made broader by flattening the central curve even be-
the common oval, which here seems to terminate in
on each side; the one example of ψ has a left hand curve
top of the upright stroke and slight ornamental dots
at each end of the horizontal stroke; ω is of average
but distinctly lacking in height. Like o it is lined with
ps of the near-by letters and so seems to the modern eye
high.

en all together the hand is definitely of the type called

"der strenge Stil" by Schubart, Griechische Paläographi
125 ff. It is, further, not among the earlier specimens o
hand, yet this inference is drawn rather from the genera
pearance of the whole fragment than from the shape
individual letters, which are closely paralleled by forms
erally dated in the second as well as the third century. S
times, as for example in the form of μ, the similarity to the
of the famous parchment Bibles of the fourth century is
marked. Yet there is no possibility of dating this fragme
late as the end of the fourth century. In the "strenger
many cursive characteristics were present at the begin
but all were eliminated before its perfected form becam
parent of the Bible hand of the late fourth century. No
this fragment there are numerous cursive elements. We
mention the oval ϵ and θ with long cross stroke; β with
zontal cross stroke at the bottom; the small size and r
position of o; the oval center of ϕ and the raised position
The early date suggested by these characteristics is str
supported by the broad, angular α and by the almost
plete absence of ornamental dots and curves. I am inc
to date the fragment in the last half of the third cen
though the first half of the fourth century is pos
Schubart dates it in the fourth century but older than
parchment Bibles.

Punctuation consists of a single dot in middle posi
There are two certain instances. There are no accent
breathings visible in this fragment. The apostrophe is
four times, twice after foreign names ending in a conso
once to separate two successive gammas, and once after κ
show elision. Initial iota has two dots above it in $\ddot{\iota}ουδαια[ν$
$\ddot{\iota}ωμ[ενος$. There is no clear case of initial upsilon. The com
church abbreviations occur, as $\overline{\kappa s}$, $\overline{\chi\rho s}$, $\overline{\iota\eta s}$ and $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$. The
no case of iota adscript.

In the text which follows both of P. Mich. and P. Ber
have separated the words, added accents and breathings,
have included the obvious restorations. More doubtful res
tions and all textual details and discussion will be foun
the notes.

e following signs are used in the notes:

PH = P. Hamburg
PM = P. Mich. 1317 + P. Berlin 13893
PO = P. Oxy. 1602 = Ghent 62 [2]

P. Berlin + P. Mich.

[πε]
[πλ]ακεὶς ἡσπάζ[ετο Παῦ]λ̣ον καὶ μὴ μελ
[λή]σας αὐτὸς τὰ ἑ[κ] τοῦ πλ̣οίου ἐβάσταζεν
[σὺ]ν τῷ̣ Ἀρτέμ[ωνι] εἰς τ̣ ἴδια καὶ ἠγαλλι
[ᾶτο] μηνύων μ[εγ]άλως α̣ὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελ
[φοῖ]ς ὥστε παρα[χ]ρῆμα π̣ληρωθῆναι τὸν
[οἶκο]ν τοῦ Κλαυδίου χαρᾶς καὶ χάριτος εἶ
δον γὰρ Παῦλον ἀποθέμ̣ενον τὸ τῆς λύπης
καὶ διδάσκοντα τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον
καὶ λέγοντα ἄνδρες στρ̣ατιῶται τοῦ χρυ
[ἀκ]ούσατε· ποσ̣άκις ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνόμων ὁ
[θς] ἐρρύσα[το τὸν] Ἰσραὴλ' καὶ μ̣έχρι οὗ τὰ
[πρ]ὸς τὸν κ̣[ν ἐτ]ή̣ρ̣[ο]υ[σα]ν̣ οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐ
[τῶ]ν ἐκ χ̣ε̣[ιρὸς γὰρ Φαρα]ὼ ἔσ̣ωσεν αὐτοὺς ὄν
[τος] ἀν̣[όμου καὶ Ὤγ βασ]ι̣λέως ἀνοσιωτέρου
[καὶ Ἀδὰρ μετὰ τῶν ἀλλ]οφύλων καὶ ἐπεὶ
[τὰ πρὸς θν ἐτήρουσαν] ἔτι ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς
[ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐ]π̣αγ'γελλαμένος
[γῆν Χαναναίων καὶ ὑ]π̣έταξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς
[ἀλλοφύλους καὶ μετ]ὰ̣ ταῦτα ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἐ

rough the kindness of the librarian of the Ghent library I obtained photographs parchment. The verso is very dim and has apparently deteriorated somewhat was first published, but with the aid of the two parallels I have read it as follows:

χν ιν οιτινες κατα ταξιν
και κ̣ληρον μερισμον λα
βον̣[τ]ες πνα χρυ πο̣λλ̣α παθ̣ῳ
τες̣ [υπο] του λαου ανηρεθη
σαν·[αν]ηρεθησαν αποσ̣τ̣α̣ν
τες ο̣[υν θ]υ ζωντος κατα
τας [αν]ο̣μιας αυτων εσ̣
φαλη[σαν] της κληρονομι
ας· της̣ [αιω]ν̣ιου· και νυν α
δελφ̣[οι μεγ]α̣ς επικει̣ται·

πειρα̣[σμος ο]ν υπομεινᾶ
τες ε̣ξ̣[ομεν] την προσελευ
σιν τη̣[ν πρ]ος κν· και συμ
φυγι̣[ον κ]α̣ι οπλον ευδο
κιας λα̣[βω]μεν χν ιν·αυτο
ὑπερ ημων· [δ]ο̣ντα εαυτο
ει γε κἀι ο̣υ̣τως ως εστιν·
και παραλα̣β̣ετε τον λογον
οτι πνα δυναμεως επ ε
[σ]χ[ατ]ῳ των καιρων ο θς

[ρήμῳ καὶ τῇ ἀνύδρ]ῳ παρέσχεν ἐπὶ τού
[τοις προφήτας ἐξέπε]μψεν κηρύσσειν
[τὸν κν ἡμῶν χρν ιην] οἵτινες κατὰ τὴν
[τάξιν καὶ κλῆρον καὶ] μερισμὸν λαβόν
[τες πνα χρυ πολλὰ παθό]ντες ὑ[π]ὸ τοῦ λαοῦ
[ἀνηρέθησαν ἀποστάντ]ες οὖν θ[υ ζ]ῶντος
[κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτ]ῶν ἐσφάλη[σα]ν τῆς
[κληρονομίας τῆς αἰωνίο]υ καὶ ν[ῦν ἀδ]ελφοὶ
[μέγας ἐπίκειται πειρασμὸς ὃν ὑ]πομέ[ί]ναντες
[ἔξομεν τὴν προσέλευσιν τὴν πρὸ]ς κν καὶ συμ
[φύγιον καὶ ὅπλον εὐδοκίας λάβ]ωμεν· χρν ιην
[τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δόντα ἑαυτόν εἴγ]ε οὕτως ὥς
[ἐστιν καὶ παραλάβετε τὸν λόγον ὅ]τι πνα δυνά
[μεως ἐπ' ἐσχάτων καιρῶν ὁ θς δ]ι' ἡμὰς κατ'

P. Mich. + P. Berlin

πc [ἐν Να]

ζαροῖς προελθόντ[α δὲ εἰς Ἰε]ροσόλυμα καὶ [ὅ]
λην τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ δ[ιδ]άσκοντα ὅτι [ἤγ]
γικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν [ουνω]ν ἀπολείπετ[ε]
τὸ σκότος λάβετε τὸ φῶ[ς οἱ ἐ]ν σκοτίᾳ θαν[άτουἐκ]
πεπηδημένοι φῶς ἀνέ[τε]ιλεν ὑμῖν κ[αὶ ἐ]
πρίει μεγάλα καὶ θαυμά[σ]ια ὡς ἐπιλέξ[αι αὐτὸν]
ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν δώδεκα ἄνδρας οὓς ἐν [συν]
έσει χρεῖσις καὶ πίστει εἶχεν μεθ ἑαυτοῦ [νε]
κροὺς ἐγείρων· καὶ νόσους θεραπεύων κα[ὶ λε]
προὺς καθαρίζων τυφλοὺς θεραπεύω[ν]
καὶ κυλλοὺς ἰώμενος παρ[αλυτι]κοὺς ἐγ[είρων]
δαιμονιαζομένους καθα[ρίζων] ἁπαξα[πλῶς]
πᾶσαν τὴν παρατ[αλασσίαν γῆν ἀ]νῆλθε[ν δια]
κονῶν καὶ μειλει[. . . . . .] θεραπ[εύων]
εμεισει τοῦ ποτα[μοῦ
ηλ' γυνὴ γὰρ αὐτῶ[
αν αἱμορροοῦσα κα[
νησα καὶ οὐκ εἰ αθι[
τοῦ κυ ἡμῶν ιηυ [χρυ
β[ο]ύλιον ἄγεσθαι κα[ὶ
λ[ι]ῶσιν καὶ διέρχ[

P. Mich. 1317, Verso

κο[ι]μητηρίων αντ[
μ[ε]γάλως ὑπὸ εν[
βασιλεὺ[s] τῆς δόξ[ης
25 τον ἄλ[λ]ον δὲ σπό[ρον
ὸς ὁ βασ[ι]λ[ε]ὺς τῆς δόξ[ης
τῆς δ[απ]άνης ἐπὶ ι[
τῶν [φιλά]νδρων α[
δεξον[.]ι[.]ουλ[
30 ασρ[.] οισαε[
ολπο[. .] αρου
ληασ[. .]ησ[
ἐξ ἐπα[γ]ώγης [
οὗτος [.] τ[
35 πίν[ε]τ[. . .]α[

ge [πε]

πάζ[ετο Παῦ]λον: PH τῷ Παύλῳ ἠσπάσατο. The difference in nse hardly shows one MS better than the other, but the tive case with περιπλακείς is more probable than the ac- sative with ἠσπάζετο, since an original dative would have be changed to the accusative, when the change in order as made, while the opposite change in order would not cessitate the change from Παῦλον to Παύλῳ. The omission the article in PM is certain from the space and such riations, whether by omission or addition, are common.

: Schubart has supplied οὐ in PH. The expected form in e Early Fathers is μή; see Robertson, Grammar of N. T. reek, p. 1382, and Robinson, Syntax of the Participle in e Apostolic Fathers, p. 39; cf. also Acta Theclae 256, 10; cta Johannis 190, 13; 191, 23; 209, 5.

λ[λήσας]: μελήσας PH. PM certainly supports the correct ading with double consonant, since the system of word vision at line ends requires the consonant to begin the xt line.

άσταζεν: ἐβάσταξεν PH. This is another case of the inter- ange of aorist and imperfect as in line 1. Both manu- ipts are consistent.

αλλι[ᾶτο]: ἠγαλλιάσαντο PH. There is room for three ters at the beginning of line 4 as μ of μηνύων is under τ of

τῷ Ἀρτέμ̣[ωνι]. The imperfect tense is demanded for
sistency, since PM has the imperfect in the two prece
verbs, while the singular number is required both by s
and the following participle. Space would allow us to su
ἠγαλλί[ασε] here, but the active voice is less common
the middle, which alone appears in the Septuagint, and
scribe of PM adds ν at the end of similar verb forms. T
is not room for four letters in the lacuna, and final ν is
marked by an abbreviation stroke even at line ends in
manuscript.

4 μηνύων: μηνύ̣[οντες] PH. The singular is better as it is
sistent with the preceding verbs.

μηνύων μ[εγ]άλως: μεγάλως μηνυ̣[PH. The order of PH is
erable as μ[εγ]άλως modifies ἠγαλλι[ᾶτο] rather than μη

α̣ὐτὸν καὶ: κα]ὶ τ̣ὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ PH. With this line PH ext
into the left margin five extra letters. In fact all of the
five lines begin several letters farther to the right tha
the lines below. This was not entirely due to bad su
of the papyrus, if one may judge from the facsimile.
line 4 projected into the left margin one letter farther
line 3. An uneven beginning of lines is most unusu
papyri and not found on the other pages of this manus
We may perhaps grant that some condition of the pap
may have caused the scribe to begin the first line muc
far to the right, but that will hardly explain why he
denly moves the beginning five letters to the left, afte
had begun to work toward the proper left margin wi
gradual slope. αὐτὸν is simpler and more direct than τὰ
αὐτοῦ, and so probably the original text. The differen
order of καὶ illustrates the kind of change natural in t
manuscripts, but here the order in PM may be original
because of its awkwardness have suggested the chan
PH. In any case a change in the parent of PH which ca
καὶ τὰ to be written in as a correction might help to ex
why it here extends farther into the margin than the
above, though other explanations are possible. When
scribe had reached the desired left margin he would n
rally maintain it.

λληρωθῆναι: πλησ[θῆναι] PH. I seem to see πληρῳ[in the acsimile of PH and the unevenness in length of line observed elsewhere in PH may allow space for the extra letters. chubart holds that πλησ[θῆναι τὸν] overcrowds the space. s πληρόω is the more commonly used verb in the New Testament and dependent writers it is probably the one sed here originally, whatever the reading of PH.

οῦ Κλαυδίου: Κλαυδίου PH man 2; Καυδίου man 1.

δον: ἴδων PH is a double scribal error.

αῦλον: τὸν Παῦλον PH.

ποθέμενον τὸ τῆς λύπης: [τὸ κατηφ]ὲς ἀποθέμενον PH, as supplied by Schubart. PM is right and probably to be supplied n PH, where [τὸ τῆς] would stand at the end of line 7 and λύπη]ς would just fill the lacuna at the beginning of line 8. The ς is plainly read in the facsimile and the tiny dot before it might come from η as well as from ε. Either order is possible, but the order in PM is consistent with the following participles.

νδρες: add ἀδελφοὶ καὶ PH. The shorter form is probably riginal.

οῦ χρυ: χυ PH, PO.

ειρὸς ἀνόμων = PO; χιρὸς ἀνόμου PH.

ρύσα[το] = PO: ἐρύσατο PH.

σραὴλ: ισλ PH; ιηλ PO.

τ]ήρ[ο]υ[σα]ν = PO: ἐτήρουν PH, which is the customary imperfect for aorist already noted three times in PM, but here employed by PH alone.

ὐτοὺς = PH: αὐτὸν PO.

Ωγ] = PO: Γὼγ PH, but changed by first hand from Ὤγ, which is correct; see Numbers 21, 23.

νοσιωτέρου = PH: ἀνοσιοτέρου PO.

μετὰ] = PO: [καὶ] PH. The regular number of letters in the acuna of PM is 17 or 18; καὶ gives but 16 and all narrow letters except one omega. In PO (με̣τ̣[α τ]ων) only μ is certain, but that together with the space makes μετὰ fairly sure. It is not impossible to crowd in [μετὰ] in PH as the lines on this page do not seem to begin evenly.

πεὶ = PO: ἐπὶ PH.

16 [θν̄] = PO: [τὸ]ν θν̄ PH. To insert the article in PM w
put 20 letters in the lacuna. Compare l. 9, where PM
serts the article and the others omit.
[ἐτήρουσαν]: this is supplied in agreement with both
and PH; cf. line 12 above.
ἔτι ἔδωκεν = PO: ἐπέδωκεν PH is probably due to an
scribal error, though equally intelligible.

17 The lacuna as supplied agrees with both PO and PH.
number of letters is 18 of which none are broad.
[ἐ]παγ'γελαμένος: ἐπαγγειλάμενος PO; ἐπαγγιλάμενος PH.
usual aorist middle seems to have been changed by
to the perfect middle.

18 [Χαναναίων] = PO: Χαναίων PH. The correct form give
letters in the lacuna, which is here one letter narrower t
above.

19 [μετ]ὰ ταῦτα = PH (μετὰ ταῦτα): μετ' αὐτὰ PO. The
[μετ]ὰ is not really doubtful in PM, as the only other let
like the preserved remnant are λ, κ, and χ.

20 ἐ[ρήμῳ καὶ τῇ ἀνύδρ]ῳ: PH adds αὐτοῖς, PO καὶ (delet
neither of which could have stood in PM. There are bu
letters in the lacuna of PM, which seems two letters too
I would prefer to add ἐν before τῇ, but it is not required;
the broad letters η, μ and ω.

21 τού[τοις προφήτας ἐξέπε]μψεν: supported by both PO and
and with 17 letters in the lacuna. The preserved traces
are not inconsistent with some forms of that letter used
this scribe, and can not easily be read as any other lett
κηρυσσειν = PO: κηρύσειν PH.

22 [τὸν κν̄ ἡμῶν χρν̄ ιην̄]: supported by both PO and PH bu
gives but 15 letters in the lacuna. The presence of three
breviations and two broad letters, μ and ω, is a suffic
explanation.
κατὰ τ̣ὴν [τάξιν: article omitted by PO and PH. PM is
haps right, since the New Testament regularly has
article except in I Cor. 14, 40, while the Septuagint gener
omits the article.

23 [τάξιν καὶ κλῆρον καὶ]: supported by PH, while PO omits
second καὶ; as usual 17 letters in the lacuna.
λαβόν[τες] = PO: λαμβάν[ο]ντες PH.

ἱνα χρυ] = PO: ὑπὸ πνς τοῦ χυ PH.

τολλὰ παθό]ντες = PH and PO. By following the reading of O the lacuna, which is here one letter longer than above, well filled with 18 letters.

ἰνηρέθησαν ἀποστάντ]ες = PH: PO repeats ἀνηρέθησαν. The icuna takes 18 letters.

ὖν θ[ῦ ζ]ῶντος = PH and PO: πνος ζῶντος in PO as read by Grenfell and Hunt is an error for ο[ὖν θ]ῦζῶντος.

κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτ]ῶν = PO (κατὰ τὰς [ἀν]ομίας αὐτῶν), a eading which Schubart doubts; ἀνομίας gives exactly the 7 letters desired for the lacuna in PM, while ἐπιθυμίας of H crowds the space.

κληρονομίας τῆς αἰωνίο]υ = PO: PH has the same except ἰωνίας. The lacuna in PM seems three letters longer than bove.

μέγας ἐπίκειται πειρασμός, ὃν ὑ]πομε[ί]ναντες = PH and PO. he lacuna is three letters longer than in the previous line. his allows for the 26 letters restored as most of them are arrow.

ἐξομεν τὴν προσέλευσιν τὴν πρὸ]ς κν = PH and PO. The lacuna n PM is the same length as in lines 28 and 30.

φύγιον καὶ ὅπλον εὐδοκίας λάβ]ωμεν = PO and PH. The lacuna n PM allows the 25 letters without much crowding.

ρν ιην = χν ιν of PO: ιυ χυ PH.

τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δόντα ἑαυτόν, εἵ γ]ε = PH: PO has αὐτὸ for τὸν. he lacuna is longer here and easily admits the 25 letters.

ὕτως ὡς = PO: οὗτός PH. In the facsimile of PM there eems space for a letter after υ in οὕτως, but it is deceptive. similar separation of the fibres of the papyrus is found in ach of the last five lines.

στιν καὶ παραλάβετε τὸν λόγον ὅ]τι = PO: ἐστιν [θς κ]αὶ [αρ]ελάβετε τὸν λόγον ὅτι PH. The lacuna in PM is longer nd admits the 27 letters. The meaning is also good: "If t least ye receive the word, so as it is." With οὕτως ὡς of M and PO one can not supply [θς] as in PH. Also the pres- nt tense παραλάβετε must be accepted against the imperfect f PH.

νά[μεως ἐπ' ἐσχάτων καιρῶν ὁ θς δ]ι' = PH: ἐ[σ]χ[άτ]ῳ τῶν O, which ends at this point. There are only 23 letters in

the lacuna here, while 27 stand in the previous line. This explained by the presence of a mu, three omegas and an abbreviation. There is not room for των found in PO.

Page πc

1 [ἐν Να] | ζαροῖς: [Ν]αζαρὰ PH (corrected from Ναζαρε). T forms Ναζαρέτ, Ναζαρέθ, and Ναζαρά, all undeclined, occ Here the scribe seems to have considered Ναζαρά an accu tive of a declinable form and so changed to the proper dat with ἐν. I have found no evidence elsewhere for a decli form of Ναζαρέτ.

προελθόντ[α: προσελθόντα PH. These two words are of interchanged in New Testament manuscripts, though προσ χομαι occurs much oftener. Yet it is generally followed the dative. Once ἐπι with accusative follows, but in New Testament there is no case of εἰς with accusative af προσέρχομαι. On the other hand προέρχομαι is generally u absolutely in the New Testament, but in II Cor. 9, 5 i followed by εἰς ὑμᾶς. Therefore PM is probably right h and the meaning is "having gone on (from Nazareth) Jerusalem."

[δὲ εἰς Ιε]ροσόλυμα: δὲ εἰς $\overline{\text{Ιεσλμ}}$ PH. The lacuna in PM quires the eight narrow letters restored. Both forms of proper name are common but Ἱεροσόλυμα is not genera abbreviated. On the other hand the abbreviation $\overline{\text{Ιλημ}}$ Ἱερουσαλήμ is frequent and old. $\overline{\text{Ιεσλμ}}$ of PH is most ra if found at all. I do not remember having seen it before

2 Ἰουδαίαν: PH in lacuna. Schubart supplies περίχω though admitting the possibility of Ἰουδαίαν or Γαλιλα There is no reason for supposing PH different from PM h

3 Matthew 4, 17; 10, 7 are the nearest parallels. ἀπολείπ is supplied to accord with line 4, λάβετε. PH has [ἀπολε εται and λάβεται.

4 σκοτίᾳ: σκοτεία PH. θαν[άτου]: θ[ανάτο]υ PH.

5 [ἐκ]πεπηδημένοι: [καθήμ]ενοι PH. Unless the lines in PH to begin unevenly there must be some eight letters bef]ενοι. So the lacuna is filled to agree with PM. Thus parallel to Matthew 4, 16, καθήμενος ἐν σκότει . . . . . θανάτου fails. Isaiah 9, 2 πορευόμενος ἐν σκότει is nearer

ot fully parallel. ἐκπηδάω is found in the Septuagint eight mes, and once in the New Testament. πηδάω is a much rer word and there are no instances of its figurative use. or this reason I have supplied ἐκ at the end of the previous ne for which there is ample space; see l. 6 where it is neces- ary to supply 7 letters against 6 here. Considerable un- venness in the length of lines is noted on the recto, where ne ends of lines are preserved. ἐκπηδάω is used in the Old estament and early Greek to mean "rush forth," "es- ape," "run away." There is seldom emphasis on "leaping orth." In Acts 14, 14 it seems to mark the excitement or assion of the two apostles. In magical papyri it is used of anton women going to meet lovers; see Eitrem, P. Oslo 1, 1 and 359. Still more figurative is the use in P. Grenfell I, 3, l. 24,[3] where two girls are represented as "living in har- otry" or "in sin." There is no more emphasis on motion n the verb than in the English parallel "they walked the treets." So in this passage οἱ ἐν σκοτίᾳ θανάτου ἐκπεπηδημένοι neans not merely "those who have proceeded in the dark- ess of death," but rather "those who are living (sinfully) n the darkness of death." This meaning is entirely con- istent with the surrounding phrases "Leave ye the dark- ess, receive the light" and "a light has arisen for you." Before the parallel use of ἐκπηδάω was called to my attention y Mr. H. C. Youtie, I had received from others the sug- estion to emend to πεπεδημένοι, that is, "those fettered in arkness," but that thought does not fit well with the con- ext and I can not accept an emendation in a manuscript so arefully written and belonging to the third century. Both his scribe and those who read the manuscript in the third nd fourth centuries must have understood [ἐκ]πεπηδημένοι s I have interpreted it. As they did not correct, I see no ause to emend.

αυμά[σ]ια ὡς ἐπιλέξ[αι]: this confirms the text as restored in H, yet 7 or 8 letters are there required to fill the lacuna, if ne line is to match those above. The extra three letters

[3] See Winter, Life and Letters, p. 158.

could be spared from the end of the preceding line Schubart did not report traces of them.

[αὐτόν]: this is plainly in excess of the regular line len but should nevertheless be supplied from PH. Page [πε PM shows that the scribe was less regular in ending l than in other matters.

7 δώδεκα: ιβ̄ PH.

ἐν [συν]έσει χρείσις καὶ πίστει: this is five (or four) let longer than the text restored in PH and three extra let only are needed to agree with the lines of PH as I have stored above. Perhaps χρῖσις κ(αι) was written in PH, there was some crowding of letters.

9 Matthew 10, 8 is somewhat similar to these healing mirac Better is Martyrium Petri et Pauli c. 20, as noted by Schm and Schubart, but the parallel is far from complete.

10 PH breaks off with this line. [λε] | προὺς καθαρίζωῃ τυφ θεραπεύω[ν is the full line even though it has two letters in the lacuna than the line above and four less than the below. Originally καὶ must have stood before τυφλοὺς.

11 παρ[αλυτι]κοὺς ἐγ[είρων] as supplied by Schmidt, Sitzun bericht. Berlin. Akad. 1931, 38, is correct.

12 δαιμονιαζομένους is a variant of δαιμονιζομένους, the form fo in New Testament manuscripts. See the new Lidd Scott for this variant.

καθα[ρίζων] ἀπαξα[πλῶς]: see Schmidt loc. cit.

13 πᾶσαν τὴν παρατ[αλασσίαν γῆν ἀ]νῆλθε[ν: this is a rat doubtful restoration, since it supposes that a τ, clearly re stands for θ. This is the number of letters needed, for space, while the alternative παρὰ τ[ὴν θάλασσαν γῆν ἀ]νῆλ requires fourteen letters. In a manuscript as carefully writ as PM such crowding is not likely to occur. On the other ha so carefully written a manuscript is not likely to have τ fo

14 [δια] | κονῶν καὶ μειλει[. . . . .] θεραπ[εύων: this is last line of which any portion remains in P. Berlin. It is enough so that the line can be restored with certainty, it is more than probable that the description of the act of Jesus continues. As he must be understood as the s ject of ἀ]νῆλθε[ν, the following present participles will

P. Mich. 1317, Recto

ibe his action or manner. The fact that καὶ follows the
t participle [δια]κονῶν practically requires that καὶ should
ecede the last one, θεραπ[εύων. Thus there is left space for
en or at most eight letters to complete the doubtful
λει[into a present participle, as the preceding καὶ seems
demand. I can suggest only μειλει[σσόμενος, which is
idedly weak in force, but is the right length, and is used
a deponent with the meaning "speak kindly" as late as
time of Josephus. See Bell. Jud. I, 161.

ισει του ποτα[μου is neither intelligible nor read with any
nfidence. The first iota may be a badly injured ρ, while π
uld be read ν and α as ο.

ηλ' seems to be the end of ['Ισρα]ήλ', which is not abbrevi-
d by this scribe.

νὴ γὰρ αὐτῶ[. . .]αν αἱμορροοῦσα reports in some fashion the
ident recorded in Matthew 9, 20. Therefore the text up
this point seems to deal with the life of Jesus.

]νησα should be the ending of a verb in the first person.
this be right the thought changes to the personal experi-
e of the speaker, Paul. With this the genitives τοῦ κυ
ὼν ιηυ [χρυ accord well.

this basis we may restore the following as εἰς τὸ συμ]β[ο]-
ον ἄγεσθαι κα[ὶ representing Paul as referring to his own
oulations.

]ῶσιν καὶ διέρχ[should be two verbs in the present indica-
e third person plural. Possibly ἀγαλ]λ[ι]ῶσιν καὶ διέρχ[ονται
y be supplied, which must then apply to more Chris-
ns, perhaps suffering persecution.

ι]μητηρίων must be the genitive plural of the word meaning
eeping place" or "cemetery." The latter meaning would
here, if the text deals with persecution and death.

τιλεὺ[ς] τῆς δόξ[ης] seems fairly certain here and in line 26.
is derived from Psalm 23, 7, and here probably refers to
rist.

The papyrus is here in very bad condition and with no
iding text little can be read with confidence. I have sup-
ed a few of the more probable words, more in the hope
t it may help others to find some parallel in existing
rks than to hint at any interpretation.

Summary

The appearance of the same portion of text in P. Hamb
P. Mich., and P. Oxy. enables us to compare the quality o
transmission in the different fragments. PM and PO a
nineteen times against PH, nine of which fall in lacunas
are determined by space, while PH and PO agree only t
times against PM. We can not be quite certain about all
readings of PO, since the second page was very difficult to
in certain places, but with the aid of the photographs I
assume but seven real variants which were supported nei
by PM or PH, of which four fall in lacunas in PM.

On this showing we must assign first rank to PM with
probably somewhat inferior, while PH is less carefully wri
and also either the scribe or a predecessor has allowed hin
greater freedom in adapting or rewriting the text. This opi
is supported by a study of the variants in the part of the
in which PH and PM are parallel and PO fails. Here PM se
to give the better text fourteen times against three times
PH. In five cases the text is equally good in both. The
should perhaps be restored also in these five cases to agree
PM, because of its greater authority. I believe, however,
we should not put too much weight on the superior autho
given to PM by the support of PO, for these two manuscr
seem so closely related that their agreements point to der
tion from a common ancestor, not far removed, while PH
dently belongs to a different family.

A COLLOQUIALISM IN PLATO, *Rep.*, 621b 8

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ὕτως, ὦ Γλαύκων, μῦθος ἐσώθη καὶ οὐκ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἂν σώσειεν
μεθα αὐτῷ.

these words Plato ends the myth of Er. The modern commen-
Adam and the rest, give parallels from elsewhere in his works
phrase and cite the explanation of Proclus and the scholiast,
was customary in antiquity to end a story with μῦθος ἀπώλετο,
y wished to show that fables tell what is not so, and as soon
are spoken they are not." I think it has not been clearly stated
θος ἐσώθη is a colloquialism which has left its mark on the
ge to this day; that it meant simply "the story is ended," or
erally "the story has arrived safely," and that from that usage
ead a modern one, correct (because belonging to sound folk-
although, I believe, not common.

yone who can use a Greek dictionary knows that the passive
can mean to escape to, come safely to, find safety in, a place;
ve has a corresponding meaning and Liddell-Scott-Jones give
nt illustrations. That the story should be thought of as going
urney and arriving, if it is told without interruption (it was
in other words unlucky, to leave it unfinished)[1] is quite in
with the popular way of treating it like a living thing, a guest
s come to entertain the company. Occasionally a modern tale
ith "Good evening to the story," and there is no reason why
ent one should not have ended with "And so here's the tale,
sound." Plato of course adds his own meaning to the humour-
ular phrase, and half-seriously, as is his custom, pretends to
eeper message than the man in the street, or in the peasant's
had ever meant to express by his tag. That Proclus and com-
ek to moralise the word afresh merely shows how ignorant
re of its meaning. For, as Frazer among others has pointed
s very remarkable how divorced the Greek scholars, especially
later date, were from the popular thought of their people;
e best of them, to whom the modern folklorist owes most, such
rch and Pausanias, come under this condemnation, as indeed
learned men did until a century or so ago, with the rarest

Gorg. 505 c-d, where also the story is personified.
G. Frazer, Greece and Rome, p. 221.

exceptions. Nevertheless, the word was there in the common spe
and that it was there is shown by a modern idiom which, in my c
ion, could hardly have developed from any other use of the ver

Given that a story when ended was said to have arrived safel
was only natural that, to people incurious in lexicography, σω
should occasionally be thought to mean "to end." And this is ex
what the passive occasionally does mean in modern Greek. I ha
late been examining, with a view to publication with other mat
in a forthcoming book, some very interesting Chian folktales. In
of them the hero has to go a journey of six months. "So he wa
and he walked and ὅπου ἐσώθησαν οἱ ἕξη μῆνες," various interes
things happened to him. It is surely evident that the Greek w
can mean nothing but "when the six months were ended," for he
got to his journey's end and found what he was looking for. I
this therefore as fairly strong confirmation of the meaning I
postulated, in opposition to the Neoplatonic commentators
Plato's phrase.